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AARON M. POWELL, *Editor.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Special Editorial Contributor.*

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SHALL WE HAVE A NEW FLAG?

PORTLAND, Oregon, November 25th, 1869.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SINCE Capt. Reid almost received the thanks of Congress for designing our present national standard, the glorious "stars and stripes," ours from one of the weakest has grown to be the mightiest nation on the earth. We have changed our Constitution and our laws since then and have higher, purer and more enlightened aims; we are wiser. May we not now change our standard for one that will better symbolize the new era that is now dawning on this nation? Amen to the sentiment so poetically expressed by Mrs. Howe in her beautiful ode:

"So we'll have a new flag, my brothers, our stripes we have felt them all:
Our stars in the dusk of battle did mournfully pale and fall.
Let us yield our claims and our quarrels for a compact of priceless worth:
For the peace that Christ found in pardon. The peace that he left on earth."

For twenty-four years enrolled as one of the special guardians of the stars and stripes, a follower of its fortunes by field and flood, through the everglades of Florida, over the plains of Texas, across the Continent, on the Rocky Mountains and by the Pacific, I have seen it in its beauty greet the morning sunlight by the camp fires of our scattered frontier posts, floating gracefully over our wild homes through the day and as the shadows lengthened, the music of the evening retreat echoed softly and sweetly through the wilderness as we folded our banner carefully away for the night. In those days its followers numbered but a few thousand; still have we followed its fortunes when under its folds were a million of men fighting for the Union it represented, that not one star should be blotted out. We have seen it trailed in the dust at Sumpter by the foul hand of treason and slavery, and raised again after the conflict in triumph and liberty. We love our banner for all its hallowed associations. In foreign lands whose heart has not leaped with joy and pride to see it waving by the ensigns of other nations, more beautiful than any as it spoke to us of home and native land.

"And at the mast head
White, blue and red,
A flag unrolls the stripes and stars.
Ah! when the wanderer lonely, friendless,
In foreign harbors shall behold
That flag unrolled,
'Twill be as a friendly hand
Stretched out from his native land,
Filling his heart with memories
Sweet and endless."

Yet still let us have a new flag. One that shall more fitly represent a great republic, where all men are free and equal before the law, and where it is intended that the people shall rule. We would have a flag that never floated over slaves, and whose stripes never meant stripes for the slave; a flag that never called upon its followers to be slave hounds to catch and deliver up the poor fugitive from the overseer and the auction-block of the slave holder who, under the authority and protection of the stars and stripes wrung out from the flesh and bones of his black brother a portion of that dreary two hundred years of unrequited toil. The abolition of slavery, the downfall of the Southern confederacy, the probable ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, and other beacon lights along the pathway of progress, make the time seem opportune for the new standard. Cannot one be devised that all may love? whose symbol shall have so full and clear a meaning that we could afford to carefully fold the stars and stripes, and lay them away forever and fling to the breeze a new banner on which shall be printed the fairest watchwords of a free republic, where no man is master and no man a slave?

As I stand this bright Sunday afternoon on the banks of the Willammette I can see before me, sixty miles distant, a snow-clad mountain, whose fair proportions rise up seemingly from a vast plain in the mountains to the height of more than sixteen thousand feet. A new fall of snow has made it of dazzling whiteness almost to its base, and as it is gilded and glistens in the light of the late autumn sun just as he sinks behind the western horizon, the scene is grand, impressive, beautiful beyond the power of description, or the conception of one who has never witnessed it. I thought as I gazed upon this wondrous scene of beauty, and purity, that if I had the power to build up from the summit of this mighty mountain, a flag-staff unto the heavens, so high that all humanity could see it, I would place thereon a *pure* and *perfect* emblem of our American nationality, a silent, eloquent symbol of a union founded upon the Declaration of Independence and the rights of man. The harbinger of a national and social regeneration of human brotherhood, whose solemn footsteps we can hear marching on to its consummation. Should I place upon my ideal standard bearer the stars and stripes with all its hallowed and unhallowed associations, or some other banner with a truer, clearer, more definite meaning? My flag should be square, emblazoned with alternate rays of the three primitive colors, red, yellow, and blue, these in a circle converging towards the center, the extreme tints of the out-side gradually fading and becoming lighter as they approach and are finally blended and become one in an inner circle of pure white,—the primitive color, the union and harmonizing of all diversities. It is also the ultimate color which all others as they fade out tend to take on. It seems a perfect symbol of union. The number of States might be indicated by different colored stars in the corners of the flag. The original thirteen and the added ones. Besides its radical meaning the flag would have several illustrative symbolisms.

Ethenologists are uniting in the opinion that there are but three primitive races of men,—all varieties being but accidental modifications of a radical trio. The flag would present these primary races converging towards unity, losing and harmonizing their clanships, conflicts, rivalries, jealousies, hatreds and fears, and the primary elements of a manly nobleness, blending in the pure white, pacific glory of a common humanity, a patriotism embracing all mankind. Again the *rays* may represent the three primary forms of government, the rule of the one, the few and the many. Our flag would symbolize the diverse political conditions under which men have suffered, harmonizing their discordant, and combining their congenial elements in a true and consummate republic, a perfect democracy, a genuine aristocracy, a legitimate monarchy by divine right, where every man is a ruler and equal sovereign, master of himself, and under a loving Providence and loving and helpful fellow-men and brothers, lord of his own destiny. A social symbolism may be suggested. The rays represent the three classes in which all communities are arranged, either directly by law, or practically by the inequalities of condition, resulting from law, and traditional customs. The upper ten, the middle hundred, and the lower million. The flag announces that the conflict of the ages between labor and capital, man and his accidents, is reconciled, and that all stand upon the broad and equal platform of common right and equal opportunity; that all honorable ambitions and aspirations have free space and full scope, and that man is measured by the development in himself of noble character and manly service to man.

Many of the wise and good of this nation are even now gathering under this new banner. The Congress that has done so great a deed for humanity as to pass the Fifteenth Amendment, alone has the power to give us the new flag. R. SAXTON.

THE OUTRAGES IN GEORGIA.

REPORT OF MAJOR-GEN. ALFRED TERRY.

WASHINGTON, December 7th.

THE annual report of the Secretary of War is accompanied by numerous sub-reports, some of which are of the first importance. That of Major-Gen. Alfred H. Terry, commanding the District of Georgia, is, in view of the recommendation in the President's message, and in further view of the bill to be taken up in the Senate to-morrow, of the highest interest. It is dated Aug. 14th, 1869, and is as follows:

SENATOR WILSON ON THE OUTRAGES.

Soon after I assumed command of this Department a letter from the Hon. Henry Wilson to the President of the United States was referred to me, with instructions to investigate and report upon matters therein mentioned. The following is a copy of that letter, and of the indorsement placed upon it by the General Commanding the army:

NATICK, Mass., May 14th, 1869.

Dear Sir: Can nothing be done to stop the outrages in Georgia? These political murders should cease. Nothing animated the people more in the canvass than the idea that the Rebel outrages should be stopped. They were checked much by your election; still they go on, and many of our best friends say that we do nothing to stop them, and that we rather say nothing about them. I fear that unless something is done many of our most devoted friends will grow dissatisfied. Cannot a proclamation in regard to Georgia be issued? Cannot these criminals be caught by the army and punished? I am sure something should be attempted. Martial law is this day needed in that the worst of all the States for the security of the friends of the country. Yours truly,

HENRY WILSON.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY, WASHINGTON, June 7th, 1869.

Respectfully referred to Commanding General, Department of the South, for thorough investigation and report. W. T. SHERMAN, General.

I have delayed making report thus called for until the present time, in order that I might become acquainted with the condition of affairs in Georgia before expressing any opinion. Now I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the situation here demands the interposition of the National Government, in order that life and property may be protected, the freedom of speech and political action secured, and the rights and liberties of freedmen maintained. This opinion is based upon complaints made to me, reports of officers detached to investigate the alleged outrages, and upon the statements of many persons of respectability and high position from different parts of the States. In those representations I must repose confidence, some of whom have given me information only under pledge of secrecy, the state of affairs in their section being such that they feared extreme personal violence should it become known that they had been in communication with me.

THE KU-KLUX-KLAN.

In many parts of the State there is practically no government; the worst of crimes are committed, and no attempt is made to punish those who commit them. Murders have been and are frequent, and the abuse in various ways of blacks is too common to excite notice. There can be no doubt of the existence of numerous insurrectionary organizations known as the "Ku-Klux-Klans," who, shielded by their disguise, by the secrecy of their movements, and by the terror which they inspire, perpetrate crimes with impunity. There is great reason to believe that in some cases local magistrates are in sympathy with members of these organizations. In many places they are overawed by them, and dare not attempt to punish them. To punish such offenders by civil proceedings would be a difficult task, even were magistrates in all cases disposed, and had they courage to do their duty, for the same influences which govern them equally affect juries and witnesses.

HOW THE CRIMINALS ESCAPE.

A conversation which I have had with a wealthy planter, a gentleman of intelligence and education, and a political opponent of the National Administration, will illustrate this difficulty. While deploring the lamentable condition of affairs in the county in which he lives, he frankly admitted to me that were the most worthless vagabonds in the county to be charged with crimes against the person of a Republican or a negro, neither he nor any other person of property within the county would dare to refuse to give bail for the offender, nor would they dare to testify against him, whatever might be their knowledge of his guilt. That very many of the crimes which have been committed have no political bearing, I believe; that some of them were prompted by political animosity, and that most of the numerous outrages upon freedmen result from hostility to the race, induced by their enfranchisement, I think cannot be controverted.

The same difficulties which beset the prosecution of criminals are encountered by negroes, who seek redress for civil injuries in local Courts. Magistrates dare not do their duty toward them, and instances are not wanting where it has even been beyond the power of a Magistrate to protect a negro plaintiff from violence in his own presence, while engaged in the trial of his case. I desire it to be understood that in speaking of Magistrates, I in no degree refer to Judges of the Superior Court. They are gentlemen of high character, and I have every confidence that they will do their duty fearlessly and impartially. But it is to be observed that even they cannot control grand and petty juries; they cannot compel the former to indict, nor the latter to render unprejudiced verdicts. The executive of the State would gladly interpose to give to all citizens the protection which is their right, but under the Constitution and laws, he has power neither to act directly in bringing the offenders to justice, nor to compel subordinate officers to do their duty.

PUBLIC SENTIMENT IN THE STATE.

I do not suppose that the great majority of the people of the State of either race approve of the commission of these crimes. I believe that not only would they gladly see good order restored, peace and quiet maintained, and law vindicated, but would lend their aid to secure these ends were they not controlled by their fears. Governed, however, by their apprehensions, and having no confidence that the civil authorities will afford them protection, in many counties they suffer these evils to exist without an effort to abate them, and meekly submit to the rule of a disorderly and criminal minority.

While I have been in command of the Department, I have endeavored to take no action which could not be justified by letter of law, even if Georgia should be held to be restored to its original relations to the General Government. I have confined myself to giving support to the civil authorities, and moving detachments of troops into some of the disturbed counties, where their presence would exert a good influence, and where they would be ready to act if properly called upon. I think that some good has in this way been accomplished, but the great evil has by no means been reached. As Department Commander, I can do no more, for, whatever may be the status of Georgia, and whatever may be the powers which an officer assigned to the command of the Third District, created by the Reconstruction acts, would possess, it is only an officer so assigned who could exercise them. They are not vested in me by my assignment to the command of the Department. Where, therefore, the civil authorities are in sympathy with or are overawed by those who commit crime, it is manifest that I am powerless. In this connection I respectfully call the special attention of the General Commanding the Army to the reports in regard to the attempt made in Warren County to secure the arrest and punishment of persons charged with crime, which are this day forwarded.

WHY THE GOVENRMENT SHOULD INTERFERE.

It appears to me that the national honor is pledged to the protection of loyalists and freedmen of the South. I am well aware that protection of persons and property is not ordinarily one of the functions of the National Government, but when it is remembered that hostility to the supporters of the Government is but a manifestation of hostility to the Goverment itself, and that the prevailing prejudice against blacks results from the Emancipation act of the Government, it would seem that such protection cannot be denied them, if it be within the power of the Government to give. I know of no way in which such protection can be given in Georgia except by an exercise of the powers conferred on military commanders by the reconstruction acts.

[The General then enters into long discussion whether these powers can still be exercised in Georgia, and treats of all laws bearing upon the question with much vigor of judgment and clearness of expression, coming to the conclusion that they may still be decreased, and closing his report as follows:]

HOW TO RESTORE GOOD ORDER.

In conclusion, I desire to express my conviction that the only way to restore good order in the State is to resume military control over it for the time being, and ultimately to provide by law that the Legislature shall reassemble as a Provisional Legislature, from which all ineligible persons shall be excluded, and to which all eligible persons elected to it, whether white or black, shall be admitted. Such legislature would, I believe, enact such laws, and invest their Executive with such powers as would enable him to keep the peace, protect life and property, and punish crime. The process of resuming military control would, it appears to me, be a very simple one. All that would be required is an order from the President countermanding General Orders No. 55, Adjutant-General's Office, July 28th, 1868, and orders No. 103, headquarters Third Military District, July 22d, 1868, and assigning an officer to the command of the district, excepting the States of Florida and Alabama. This action I respectfully recommend.

GEN. HALLECK'S INDORSEMENT.

Gen. Halleck, commanding Military Divison of the South, indorses this report of Gen. Terry's as follows:

I cannot concur entirely in the views of Gen. Terry. After the recognition for so long a time of the State Government of Georgia by the President and highest military authorities, for these officers to retrace their steps and declare their own acts illegal and void, would not only seem inconsistent, but might produce much harm.

Should Congress, however, decide to return the State to the condition of a military district, under the Reconstruction laws, on the ground that it had not been fully reconstructed, the case would be very different. I therefore respectfully recommend that the matter be left for action of Congress.

THE DISTRICT OF MISSISSIPPI.

REPORT OF MAJOR-GEN. AMES.

THE report of Major-Gen. Adelbert Ames, commanding the District of Mississippi, contains the following, relative to the condition of affairs in that State on the 28th of October last:

OUTRAGES AGAINST THE FREEDMEN.

The employment of troops beyond the ordinary routine of post duty has been confined almost exclusively to expeditions into the country, for the purpose of arresting lawless characters who had been guilty of murder or other serious offences. By numerous reports at these headquarters, it appears that the disturbances and lawlessness have their origin in political animosities, and the incapacity or unwillingness of many to recognize the change resulting from the late war in the condition of freed people. A prevailing sentiment in many sections of the State has been that whites who entertain political sentiments different from the majority of the commuuity, should be driven therefrom, and that blacks should be, if not deprived of rights undeniably theirs by law, at least seriously curtailed in the exercise of them. Supported by public opinion, a few men, in defiance of law commit murders and outrages, and the civil officers are unequal to the task of bringing such violaters of law to justice. The assistance of the troops is demanded. Guarded and protected by their neighbors, their arrest becomes very difficult. The parties injured or their friends rarely undertake to aid the civil or military authorities; if they do so it is hesitatingly, and if possible secretly. Under such circumstances protection of persons in their lives and property is impossible.

The cases are not numerous where violence has been offered the regularly constituted authorities, and in these instances the acts were committed generally by individuals, who, nevertheless, were secreted and shielded by the people.

One of the most deliberate and cold-blooded cases of this kind was the murder in the streets of Vicksburg of Brevet Major J. G. Crane, Chief Commissary of this District.

By General Order dated last April I authorized all persons, without respect to race, color, or previous condition of servitude, who possess the qualifications prescribed by the laws hetofore in force in this State, to act as jurors. By the exercise of the prerogative, freed people will be able to protect themselves from much oppression and injustice, which will finally result in forbearance on the part of whites, and security to themselves and their property, which could not otherwise be obtained.

THE NATIONAL COLORED LABOR CONVENTION.

THE National Colored Labor Convention assembled at noon, the 6th inst., in Union League Hall, Washington. About 200 colored delegates were present, representing Louisiana, Florida, North and South Carolina, Alabama, Virginia, Tennessee, Maryland, Kentucky, District of Columbia, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Michigan, Ohio, California, Nevada, Missouri, and Illinois. Among the eight or ten white delegates present were S. P. Cummings and Charles McLean of the Central Committee of the Labor party, Giles B. Stebbins of Michigan, Capt. Mackey and Hon. Simon Corley, Members of Congress from South Carolina, Mr. McGrew, Representative elect from Virginia, and A. M. Powell. Richard Trevellick, President of the National Labor Union and Congress, was early recognized, and invited to a seat on the platform. There were also ten women delegates, one being colored; they were all admitted.

The call for the Convention which proceeded from the colored delegates who were admitted last August to the Philadelphia Congress, and who there signalized themselves by a strong support of our financial integrity, was read by Mr. Myers of Baltimore, a colored shipwright, who is at the head of a successful Coöperative Shipyard there.

GEORGE T. DOWNING of Rhode Island was elected temporary Chairman, and Mr. Harmon of Florida, Secretary. Mr. Downing made an appropriate address on taking the chair, urging the Convention to work in earnest, recognizing the fact that labor was the great interest of all civilization, and affirming that capital could never be safe where labor was unjustly dealt with, as between them there was no issue. When equity ruled in a large part of the land, such was not the case. The colored man, just emerging from bondage, must necessarily be in the closest sympathy with the great movement now making for the uplifting of the toilers here and elsewhere, but the slavery from which he emerges leaves traces that must necessarily direct his present action. That must be to organize for protection on the one side and for mutual self-help on and coöperative efforts on the other. Protection and amelioration were to be the objects. Political action must be governed by local circumstances.

A committee of one from each State and Territory represented was appointed on credentials. During the absence of the Committee, J. M. LANGSTON, Esq., delivered a brief, eloquent address; he was followed by the Hon. JAMES H. HARRIS, a colored Senator of North Carolina.

Mr. RICHARD TREVILLICK was then called for. He declared that the rights of labor were first; that capital was the result of its efforts, and that therefore the creature could not be made superior to its creator. He said that for himself he had long since buried both political parties, believing that, as they had been constituted in the past, there were but two divisions—that of the skinner and the skinned. On that question, however, he would not elaborate. Chattel slavery was but a part of the great slavery of labor to monopoly, of the wages system, and the unequal distribution of its results which had still to be fought. The destruction of chattel slavery had cleared the decks for the greater fight. Mr. Trevellick spoke at length on the evils of labor complained of, declaring, among other things, that 33 per cent. of all the children employed in our factories died within the first eight years of their employment. He asserted that the transportation monopolies of the country, centering as they did into so few hands, must become dangerous not only to our economical well-being, but to civil liberty. The land-grant system received a fierce denunciation from the speaker. He declared that it was because the fathers of the Republic had failed to declare free the mother earth, which the father God had given to man, that Slavery had obtained such a foothold and brought the nation throngh its baptismal struggle. Mr. Trevellick closed by declaring that only by bringing together and recognition of all without regard to race, color, and sex, and uniting them in a common effort, could the security of freedom be maintained, and the progress of the laboring millions be assured.

AARON M. POWELL, of New York, was then invited to address the Convention. He referred to the significance of the Convention, marking as it did a great transition. Slavery impoverished the whites as well as degraded the slave, but free labor will elevate and enrich both. Education, sobriety, skill, and better compensation, are the present needs of the wages class, and organization is the especial need of colored labor. Especially was it necessary for the agricultural labor of the South to organize and obtain lands. The rural freed people have peculiar disabilities which can only be met by coöperative effort, and the Freedmen's Bureau being about to cease all operation, we need some other machinery. Mr. Powell concluded by offering the following resolution:

Resolved, That we ask Congress to authorize at once the appointment by the President of a Land Commission, to be composed of six or more well-known and disinterested friends of the freed people, to serve without compensation, to have authority to appoint, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, a limited number of agents whose duty it shall be to coöperate with individuals and associations among the hitherto enslaved, for the selection and purchase of eligible lands for homesteads, to hold titles thereof for a given period, until, by installments, they shall have been paid for at actual cost to the Government, when the money so employed, not to exceed $2,000,000, shall be refunded to the National Treasury.

A permanent organization was effected by the election of the Hon. JAMES H. HARRIS of North Carolina as permanent President, and of a number of Vice-Presidents and Secretaries.

Mr. Harris on taking the chair, made a stirring speech, which was marked by a strong denunciation of the spirit still displayed by the old rebel element in the South.

After some preliminary business, the Convention adjourned to meet in the Fifteenth street Presbyterian Church, (Rev. J. Sella Martin's) at 7 P. M.

EVENING SESSION.

The attendance at the evening session was large. Several additional Committees were appointed. The chief features of the evening were addresses by Mayor BOWEN, and the Hon. A. M. CLAPP, the government printer. The first welcomed the Convention to the city; the latter expressed his sympathy with the objects of the Convention, and gave an account of his efforts to maintain the rights of colored compositors and apprentices in the Government printing office.

On Tuesday the sessions were fully attended. Many resolutions were offered and referred to appropriate committees. The following were among the more important:

Whereas labor has its privileges no less than its duties, one of which is to organize, and, if need be, to furnish reasons for its organization; therefore,

Resolved, That labor was instituted by Almighty God as a means of revealing the rich endowments of inanimate creation to be understood and used by man, and that labor is a duty common to, and the natural heritage of, the human family, each person having a natural right to labor in any field of industry for which he or she is capacitated, the right to be governed and restricted only by the laws of political economy.

Resolved, That capital is an agent or means used by labor for its development and support, and labor is an agent or means used by capital for its development and general enhancement, and that, for the well being and productiveness of capital and labor the best harmony and fellowship of action should at all times prevail, that "strikes" may be avoided and the workingman convinced that justice is done him, and that he is receiving an equivalent for the labor performed.

Resolved, That there should be a frequent interchange of opinions upon all questions affecting alike the employer and employed, and that coöperation for the purpose of protection and the better remuneration of labor is a sure and safe method, invading no specific rights, but is alike beneficial to the whole community, and tends to lift the working classes to higher achievements and positions in society, prevents the necessity of, and increases the desire to give their children a more liberal education, induces the practice of economy in the distribution of their earnings, and accelerates the accumulation of wealth, with all the happiness that must necessarily ensue therefrom.

Resolved, That intemperance is the natural foe and curse of the American family, especially the working classes, its terrible effects being to disease, corrupt, and otherwise disfigure and destroy the constitution, producing vice, crime, and poverty, where peace and plenty would otherwise exist.

Resolved, That education is one of the strongest safeguards of the Republican party, the bulwark of American citizens, and a defense against the invasion of the rights of man; its liberal distributions to all, without regard to race, creed, or sex, is necessary for the well being and advancement of society, and that all should enjoy its blessing alike in each of the States and Territories of the United States; that educated labor is more productive, is worth and commands higher rates of wages, is less dependent upon capital; therefore it is essentially necessary to the rapid and permanent development of the agricultural, manufacturing, and mechanical growth and interests of the nation that there shall be a liberal free-school system enacted by the Legislatures of the several States, for the benefit of all the inhabitants thereof.

Resolved, That we feel it to be a duty that we owe to ourselves, to society, and to our country to encourage, by all the means within our reach, industrial habits among our people, the learning of trades and professions by our children without regard to sex; to educate and impress them with the fact that all is honorable and a sure road to wealth; that habits of economy and temperance combined with industry, education is the great safeguard of free republican institutions, the "elevator of the condition of man, the motive-power to increase trade and commerce, and to make the whole people of this land the wealthiest and happiest on the face of the globe.

Resolved, That regarding the labor of the country the common property of the people that no portion should be excluded therefrom because of a geographical division of the globe in which they or their forefathers were born, or on account of statutes or color, but that every man or woman should receive employment according to his ability to perform the labor required, without any other test; that the exclusion of colored men and apprentices from the right to labor in any department of industry or workshops in any of the States and Territories of the United States, by what is known as "Trades Unions," is an insult to God and injury to us and disgrace to humanity; while we extend a free and welcome hand to the free immigration of labor of all nationalities, we emphatically deem imported contract Coolie labor to be a positive injury to the working people of the United States, is but the system of slavery in a new form, and we appeal to the Congress of the United States to rigidly enforce the act of 1862, prohibiting Coolie importation, and to enact such other laws as will best protect and free American labor against this or any similar form of slavery.

Resolved, That we recommend the establishment of coöperative workshops, land, building, and loan associations among our people as a remedy against their exclusion from other workshops on account of color as a means of furnishing employment, as well as a protection against the aggression of capital, and as the easiest and shortest method of enabling every man to procure a homestead for his family; and to accomplish this end we would particularly impress the greatest importance of the observance of diligence in business, and the practice of rigid economy in our social and domestic arrangements.

Resolved, That we regard the use of intoxicating liquors as the most damaging and damnable habits practiced by the human family; that we denounce the infamous practice planters have in drenching their employés with this poison drug, (with or without cost), intended to stupify their brain and incapacitate them to know the condition of their accounts or the value of their labor, and to rob them of their sense and feelings of humanity; that we appeal to our people to discountenance the use of intoxicating liquors because of its effects to shorten life, and because it is the great cause of so much misery and poverty among the working classes of the country, and we advise the organization of temperance associations as a necessary instrument for the speedy and permanent elevation of our people.

During the evening session of Tuesday Mr. WILLIAM CRAFT, recently returned from England, was introduced to the Convention and was warmly welcomed. He spoke briefly, returning thanks, and alluding to the need and value of coöperation for the promotion of the interests of the working classes.

Senator WILSON addressed the Convention, and when introduced was received with loud cheering. He gave expression to his hearty sympathy with this and all other movements for the amelioration of the laborer's condition. In connection with the progress which he declared had been made, the Senator gave a graphic sketch of his own career, as a laboring shoemaker, when he began working, receiving as a journeyman only $6 a week. Mr. Wilson declared that the transportation and other monopolies were obtaining a power dangerous to our institutions. He declared that he was in favor of asserting the freedom of the scientific highway—the railroad. He spoke against the land-grant system, though still willing, under restriction, to aid the construction of railroads, in order to develop the country. He spoke at length on the Homestead system, and declared his conviction that the Republican party would be found in the future, as in the past, the champion of the rights of labor. Mr. J. C. Ware of Philadelphia, and Mr. Rapier of Alabama, followed Mr. Wilson.

On Wednesday the committee appointed for the purpose reported an Address which, as it best interprets the real spirit of the Convention and its objects, we abridge other portions of the proceedings, and print in full. It was written by the chairman of the committee, JOHN M. LANGSTON, Esq., and speaks eloquently for itself as follows:

THE COLORED PEOPLE IN THEIR RELATIONS TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY.

ADDRESS.

THE laboring class of any community, educated and united, constitute its strength. And, in so far as the leading men thereof realize and appreciate this consideration, they will be able to raise the masses of those identified with them in condition, to rank and influence, socially and legally.

Among the colored men of this country, there is no small amount of industrial capacity, native and acquired. All over the South, and among the colored people of the North, workmen in gold, silver, brass, iron, wood, brick, mortar and the arts are found doing skilfully, and at usual wages the most difficult tasks, in their several departments of labor. Nor are these workmen generally engaged by white men who, superintending their work, can claim, upon any just ground, that the genius and art displayed belong to the employers. As illustrating this statement, it may be appropriately mentioned, that perhaps the most accomplished gunsmith among Americans, is a black man, an ex-slave of North Carolina, who not long since received special notice from the Prince of Wales, to whom he presented a pistol of his own make, and received, in return as a token of consideration, from the heir apparent of the English throne, a magnificent medal of rare value. It is perhaps true, too, that the most finished cabinet maker, and blacksmith of our country are of the same class. And it is said to be the fact, that the most valuable invention given us by the South, the cotton plough, the patentee of which, formerly resided in Mississippi, was the creature of a slave's genius.

Here, too, it may be mentioned with no inconsiderable pride that one of the finest landscape painters of our country, and one of the finest sculptors is of African descent; the former distinguished especially as giving life and utterance from canvas to several of Milton's matchless poetic creations in the Paradise Lost; and the other as making the spirit of the noble Andrew of Massachusetts to breathe and speak through the life-like lips and features of plaster. Individual instances of colored persons engaged in commerce as wholesale and retail dealers in many of the larger cities of the North and South might be mentioned. New Orleans, Mobile, Charleston, Savannah, Raleigh, Richmond, Nashville, Austin, Helena, Louisville, St. Louis, Leavenworth, Chicago, Detroit, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, New York, Philadelphia, several of the larger cities of New England, and the capital of the United States, furnish illustrations and proof of this statement.

But it may be claimed that these are isolated and exceptional cases. Let us, therefore, consider this matter from a broader stand-point. Let us take the case of the Freedmen in one of the States, as presenting a fair average of their condition in this regard; and we name North Carolina. We offer the words of the General Inspector of the schools for Freedmen under the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, as specially significant in their bearing on this point. In one of his reports for 1868, in speaking of the Freed people of North Carolina, he says:

"More than one-third of the entire colored population of North Carolina, are mechanics. They are nearly six to one as compared with white mechanics. The census gives less than 20,000 of the latter while there are more than 60,000 of the former. All the mechanical occupations are represented by them; blacksmiths, gunsmiths, wheelwrights, millwrights, machinists, carpenters, cabinet-makers, plasterers, painters, shipbuilders, stone masons, and bricklayers are found among them in large numbers. There are also among them many pilots and engineers. Nor are they behind any class of workmen in the skill, taste and ability which are usually exhibited in their several trades. Of the pilots and engineers running steamboats on the different rivers of this State, many of the very best are colored men. It is said that the two most trustworthy pilots in North Carolina, are freedmen; one of whom is running a steamboat on Cape Fear river, and the other across Albemarle sound, and on the Chowan and Blackwater rivers. The former is paid fifteen dollars per month more than any other pilot on the river, because of his superior ability. The engineer on the boat run by this pilot is also a freedman, and is said to be one of the best in the State.

These colored mechanics, when employed, command the usual wages paid others of like calling and are now constantly taking work upon their own responsibility, and doing it to the satisfaction of their employers. One of the most interesting sights which it was my good fortune to witness, while in the State was the building of a steamboat on Cape Fear river, by a colored shipbuilder with his gang of colored workmen."

What is thus said of the freed people of North Carolina, is in greater or less degree true of the same class in the various States of the South; for in the general degradation of labor, produced and festered by slavery, as it formerly existed, the slave was made to do every kind of work, mechanical as well as agricultural; and so became the artisan as well as field hand of that region.

The consideration that the freedman is the field hand, the agricultural laborer of the South, is one of no small significance; since the two great staples which distinguish Southern industry cannot be grown successfully without his labor. This is abundantly proved by the fact, that attempts which have been made since the war, by Northern capitalists to grow cotton and sugar on Southern plantations upon plans suggested by their Northern experience, and contrary to the method of culture adopted by the colored laborers of the South, have proved abortive and disastrous in well nigh every instance, as too many men, shipwrecked in means by their efforts at fortune making in growing these staples are ready to testify.

It is not to be inferred from this statement, that the general ignorance of the ex-slave is forgotten, nor is any one to presume therefrom that slavery is to be regarded as having been a school with special claims to consideration by reason of its peculiar adaptability to impart extraordinary and valuable instruction in the art of cotton and sugar culture. All that is intended is, that an experience of two hundred and forty-five years, as the laborer in cotton and sugar fields has given the negro, though denied school, church and civilizing and elevating influences, such knowledge of the

soil and its improvement, the nature and treatment of the cotton seed and plant, the tillage and growth of sugar-cane, the seasons, and their usual and abnormal effects upon crops, the agricultural implements, and their proper regulation for use, as to make him above all others for the time being, the successful cultivator of these products.

It will not be denied by any intelligent person, that the rough, unlettered farmer of Ohio and Illinois, who has had fifty years experience in the cultivation of corn and wheat in these States, can furnish better and more valuable information with regard to the soil, its productiveness, and the advantageous tillage of these Western staples than Greeley or Emerson, although the former writes on topics of Political Economy, while the latter announces and expounds theories of Philosophy and Morals.

With a voting power, under our present and just system of reconstruction, of seven hundred and fifty thousand electors, and an actual laboring force of three millions, out of four millions and a quarter of hardy sons and daughters of toil, native to the soil, inured to the climate, acquainted with the habits and customs of the people generally, and knowing by an experience more valuable perhaps than the learning of the books, the methods of agriculture, the different systems of mechanical labor and the common and less complicated affairs of commerce, we are an element in the industry of the country of importance, value and power.

But, for our own good and the welfare of our country, in all things pertaining to her material and moral well being, we seek a better and broader opportunity to gain knowledge in the fields of agricultural, mechanical, commercial, artistic and professional labor; and this knowledge, we would energize, direct and make more largely effective through the enlightening and sanctifying influences of education. Our mottoes are, Liberty and Labor, Enfranchisement and Education! The Spelling-Book and the Hoe, the Hammer and the Vote, the opportunity to work and to rise, a place on which to stand, and to be and to do, we ask for ourselves and children, as the means in the use of which, under God, we are to compass those achievements which furnish the measure, the test and justification of our claim to impartial treatment and fair dealing.

That this end may be reached, we ask first of all that trades be opened to our children and that they be given the benefits of a just and equitable system of apprenticeship; in the second place, that for every day's labor given we be paid full and fair remuneration, and that no avenue of honest industry be closed against us; and thirdly, since we believe that the intelligence, the elevation and happiness of all peoples depend in no small degree upon the diversity of their industrial persuits, we ask that we may work in the printing-office, whether private or governmental, in the factory, the foundry, the workshop, upon the railroad, the canal, the river, the steamboat, in the ware-house, the store, wherever labor is to be done and an able and faithful workman is wanted, we conceive that we may claim a place without distinction as to our color or former condition, since all that can be demanded by the employer is ability, the faithful performance of the contract made, and the employed, reasonable treatment and the compensation promised. Hence, while we condemn that spirit which in its proscriptive regulations denies us industrial opportunity and the fruits of honest toil; we rejoice in all those evidences of prospective good which we and other laboring classes see in the erection of factories and foundries in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri,' Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama; promising that our strong and labor hardened hands, our intellectual powers quickened by the influences of education, and our purposes made doubly earnest by considerate treatment and the prospect of just compensation, shall all be given to the development of the industrial resources of our several States in the interest of our employers.

Recognizing ourselves as native Americans, and knowing ourselves, as members of the great American Body-Politic, while we ask the recognition and protection due any and all of like political condition, as in the past so in all time to come with unfettered limb and manly endeavor, we shall labor, with our white fellow countrymen, native and naturalized, in mine, on farm, in workshop, in foundry, in factory, everywhere to develop the material and industrial powers of our land, making wind, water and earth to aid in the accomplishment of its mission of Liberty and Law, Honor and Justice, Christianity and Civilization. And, while this is our purpose, and feeling as all other intelligent and earnest citizens must, the value of national honesty and honor, and the responsibility of each citizen, and every class of citizens for its sacred maintenance, while we demand that all contracts made in the interest of the Government be liberally and fully met, according to their terms, we promise, to this end, more than a tithe, if need be, of the fruits of our industry, as our influence and votes, that our national obligations receive no detriment. As we tolerate no political party which favors repudiation, so will we coöperate in no movement, industrial or other, which proposes or countenances it. In all laboring men's movements, as in political organizations, we hold as binding and inviolable the sentiment that the national honor and the national faith should be maintained in all their fulness, being as sacred as the sovereignty, which we have pledged as its sure guaranty.

Notwithstanding all these things, said with regard to our purposes of loyalty, the elements of our strength as far as labor of an agricultural, mechanical, commercial, artistic, and other is concerned, and notwithstanding, in an important sense, the freedmen are the laborers and mechanics of the South, and as matters stand necessarily so, supplying the bone and muscle of the industry of that section, we are not insensible of our weakness, in our present disorganized condition, and our utter inability to compel a full and just recognition of our claims for larger and more certain compensation for services rendered, and a larger opportunity to follow those diversified pursuits of industry which in New England, and our Northern States generally, have done so much to enlighten, elevate and bless the people.

This brings us to a question of vital moment. Is it practicable to so organize our industrial forces and direct our labor as to compel the wealthy classes, the landholders and planters, to recognize and admit our power, and respect our claims accordingly?

The importance and difficulty of answering this question every intelligent person, friendly to the laboring masses of the world, must appreciate. In our case, however, it is indeed doubly difficult and vexing, by two considerations which make it proper for us to ask and expect legislative action by Congress in our behalf. In the first place, our people are not only poor, but they are the objects, in their comparatively new condition of freedom, of a hatred, which shows itself in demonstrations of outrage and bloodshed in many parts of the South, to such an extent, as to require, if our interests, industrial and other, are to be protected, immediate and positive action on the part of State and Federal officials. In the second place, by reason of our too long, oppressive and degrading life, as slaves, we are as far as our masses are concerned, ignorant of many benefits resulting from coöperative labor. This latter difficulty will only be overcome as through education, we more thoroughly comprehend the value of combined effort on the part of the laborer, to secure consideration and wealth. Of the good purpose of the government to protect us, and as far as need be put within our reach the opportunity and means of education, our treatment, since our emancipation affords reasonable assurance.

We have attempted the solution of this question, in the organization of our *National Bureau of Industry*, with none other than anxious and earnest solicitude for the welfare of our working millions and their posterity.

We would unite all these masses upon a principle of common interest whose accomplishment is practicable, and by which their highest earthly good may be compassed.

We would therefore have the laborer understand that acres however vast, in plantations however immense, uncultivated, are profitless, like principles promulgated through party platforms, unaccepted by popular endorsement at the polls; and besides, that these uncultivated acres cannot be made profitable without labor, any more than political principles can be made influential and effective through party agency without the approval of the popular will.

We would teach that labor is the parent of capital, and that well directed, intelligent and united industry brings national wealth, as it brings individual competence and independence.

While our organization is one which springs out of justice and self defence, aiming not at conflict with capital, but seeking rather, so to adjust the relations of labor to capital, as to secure the just and fair treatment of each by the other, we found it in reason and moderation. Speaking comprehensively, while the interests and welfare of labor are cared for fully, no unwarranted and unfair exactions are made of capital, whether its power be exercised through corporate, or individual methods. In other words still, the mutual and dependent relations of labor and wealth we would neither ignore nor rudely disturb. The laborer needs and must have the compensation which service brings. Without, he cannot secure either the necessaries of life, or the means to support and educate his children, nor upon the other hand, is the wealth of the employer of such intrinsic worth, as to be valuable above and beyond its use, in making effective the muscle and energy of labor.

"The Irishman would starve, if not employed by the rail road company," said a brainless and heartless agent thereof; but replied the sagacious and philosophical son of the Green Isle when thus addressed, "there would have been no railroad had God not made the Irishman to dig and shovel." Whether the Irishman be indispensable to railroad building, the principle here indicated is correct. It is digging and shoveling which make capital valuable; and the wealthy of this and other lands, once poor, but now affluent, can testify that this saying is not figurative.

Such are the interests of capital and labor, so mutual and intertwined in the great aims to be reached, the enterprises to be carried forward for the highest good of mankind, that to disturb them by inconsiderate and ill-advised action, on the part of the people or government, is to violate a command, written in the necessities of the race, and which may be fitly interpreted in the words of the injunction with regard to wedlock—"What God has joined together let not man put assunder." Thus married in interest, we would have this bride and groom go forward multiplying their blessings in the earth; their happy relations in no wise disturbed by contentions, or acts, which show the one a tyrannical lord, or the other, a menial, cringing slave.

In our organization we make no discrimination as to nationality, sex or color. Any labor movement based upon such discrimination and embracing but a small part of the great working masses of the country, while repelling others, because of its partial and sectional character will prove to be of very little value. Indeed, such a movement, narrow and divisional, will prove suicidal; for it arrays against the class represented by it, all other laboring classes, which ought to be, the rather allied in the closest union and thus avoid those dissentions and divisions which in the past, have given wealth the advantage over labor.

We would have "*the poor white man*" of the South, born to a heritage of poverty and degradation, like his black compeer in social life, feel that labor in our organization, seeks the elevation of all its sons and daughters, pledges its united strength, not to advance the interests of a special class; but in its spirit of reasonableness and generous catholicity would promote the welfare and happiness of all who "earn their bread in the sweat of their brow."

With us, too, numbers count and we know the maxim, "in union there is strength," has its significance in the affairs of labor, no less than in politics. Hence, our industrial movement, emancipating itself from every national and partial sentiment, broadens and deepens its foundations, so as to rear thereon a superstructure, capacious enough to accommodate at the altar of a common interest, the Irish, the Negro, and the German laborer; to which so far from being excluded, the "poor white" native of the South, struggling out of moral and pecuniary death, into life, "real and earnest," the white mechanic and laborer of the North, so long ill taught and advised, that his true interest is gained by hatred and abuse of the laborer of African descent, as well as the Chinaman, whom designing persons partially enslaving would make in the plantation service of the South the rival and competitor of the former slave class of this country, having with us one and the same interest, are all united, earnestly urged to join us in our movement, and thus aid in the protection and conservation of their and our interests.

In the cultivation of such spirit of generosity on our part, and the magnanimous conduct which it prompts, we hope, by argument and appeal addressed to the white mechanics, laborers and trades-union of our country, to our legislators and countrymen at large, to overcome the prejudices now existing against us, so far as to secure a fair opportunity for the display and remuneration of our industrial capabilities.

We launch our organization, then, in the fullest confidence, knowing, that if wisely and judiciously managed, it must bring, to all concerned, strength and advantage; and especially to the colored American, as its earliest fruits, that power which comes from competence and wealth, education and the ballot, made strong through a union, whose fundamental principles are just, impartial and catholic.

JOHN M. LANGSTON, Ohio.
GEORGE L. MABSON, North Carolina.
JABEZ P. CAMBELL, New Jersey.
WM. J. WHITE, Georgia.
SAMUEL TALLISFURE, Virginia.

The concluding proceedings, the Constitution of the Bureau, additional resolutions, including one, which we gratefully acknowledge, very kindly appreciative of THE STANDARD, sketches of the addresses by sundry speakers, etc., we, regret that we have not space at command to give at length, as we desired, this week. We must conclude our report for this number by giving the following permanent organization of the Bureau:

President—ISAAC MYERS, Baltimore, Md.

Vice-Presidents—G. T. Downing, Albert Sommerville, J. T. Rapier, W. H. Lester, William Bonmer, N. H. Hall, Robert H. Small, J. B. Hutchings, W. T. Combach, J. F. Long, Edward S. Francis, Chas. McLinn, A. E. Veazil, J. A. Warren, P. H. Donnegan, J. T. Waugh, J. W. Jones, F. T. Fletcher, W. P. Brooks, R. Adger, Wm. Perkins, S. C. Watson, W. P. Powell, J. H. Rainey, and Joshua Woodlin.

Treasurer—Collins Crusoe.

Secretaries—William H. Saunders, Nevada, and Lewis H. Douglass, Washington.

Executive Board—J. C. Weir, Penn.; Anthony Bowen, D. C.; Mary A. Carr, Mich.; the Rev. J. Sella Martin, Mass.; Geo. Myers, Md.; J. B. Hutchins, N. C.; and Col. Hamilton, Fla.

National Anti-Slavery Standard

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1869.

THE STANDARD FOR 1870.

THE year 1869 will be noteworthy in the political history of this country as the one in which the Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment was adopted by Congress and sent forth to the States for ratification, providing that "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." Though the ratification is still incomplete, and likely to be so at the beginning of the new year, its success in the near future, so far as is now apparent, may be regarded as well nigh certain. Fundamental in character, and importance, like the proclamation of emancipation, it will be far-reaching in its consequences. From its inception, THE STANDARD has been closely identified with this measure. Alone at first among journals in calling for and advocating it, THE STANDARD has had the satisfaction of seeing all loyal journals rally to the support of the Amendment. Its success will add to the many and important preceding victories of the Anti-Slavery conflict the crowning triumph. To this end THE STANDARD will continue to labor until the Amendment shall have been proclaimed as a part of the fundamental law of the land.

The year about to close has witnessed also a change in the national administration. Grateful that the Rebel party, led by Seymour was defeated, we nevertheless thought, and eight months of trial have confirmed our view, that a wiser choice of Chief Executive might have been made. We appreciate at its full value the approval President Grant has given to the Fifteenth Amendment, his appointment of colored men to office, and his more liberal and enlightened recommendations and policy towards the Indians. But with full power by virtue of his position, to command obedience to national authority, our previous distrust of his fitness for the Executive office finds only too much justification in the continued rule of the Ku-Klux mob, and a prevalent chronic warfare in many portions of the South. The vantage ground gained by the war is being needlessly surrendered. Ere the end of his four years' term of office, if the present tendency continues, the old ruling whites of the South will be reinstated as a unit in full control of their former political estates, with a monopoly of the soil as well as of the government.

Only the vigilant protests and warning of a radical public opinion can check this suicidal tendency, for which not alone the President and his hesitating, incompetent Cabinet are responsible, but the Republican party as such, and to which some hitherto trusted journals are strangely assenting and giving encouragement. This necessary warning it will continue to be the mission of THE STANDARD to utter. Had its counsel in relation to the impeachment of the apostate Johnson, and the confiscation of the large landed estates of rebels who are still as bitter and unrepentant as during the progress of the war, been more fully heeded, how greatly improved would have been the conditions and present results of Reconstruction! Nor must it be forgotten that the slight balance of political power in the North is shifting towards the side of the negro-hating, rebel-sympathizing Democratic party. The Supreme Court, which should be one of the strong defenses of freedom and loyalty, was well nigh captured in 1868, by rebellious enemies, and there is only too much reason to fear that they still hold the power of purchase by the small price of a Presidential nomination. To guard against these threatening dangers, apparent to thoughtful observers, to create and strengthen a public opinion which shall demand justice for the hitherto enslaved, protection for the imperilled white loyalists of the South, keep the control of the governmental machinery of the North and of the nation out of the hands of rebellious apostates and betrayers, and to quicken the moral sense of the people, to eradicate the spirit of caste,—will be the endeavor of THE STANDARD for the new year upon which it is soon to enter.

In the event of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, such a change in THE STANDARD is probable as will enlarge its sphere of usefulness and broaden its scope of interest to its present readers and to the general public. It will advocate a full recognition of the Rights of Women, encourage the cause of Temperance, sustain the just claims of Labor, white and colored, plead for the civilization and citizenship of the Indian, welcome the Chinese, seek the abolition of the gallows, etc. It will continue to give the interesting reports of the Radical Club, to present correspondence from Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington, and will contain the invaluable articles of WENDELL PHILLIPS as special editorial contributor, with the contributions of other gifted writers who from time to time enrich its pages. The feature of miscellanous literature, so highly prized by many of its readers, will not be less attractive than hitherto.

SUBSCRIPTIONS—ADVERTISEMENTS.

We cordially invite our old subscribers to renew their subscriptions for the ensuing year, and to send us the names of one, or more, new subscribers. The present is an excellent time to subscribe.

We invite the attention of advertisers to the columns of THE STANDARD as a superior medium of communication with the reading public. The circulation of the paper covers a wide extent of territory, and it numbers among its thousands of readers the more intelligent and thoughtful portion of the people. Unlike the daily journal which is hastily gleaned and thrown quickly aside, it is carefully read by many families.

The Subscription price per year is THREE DOLLARS.

Advertisements are received at Fifteen Cents per line. Special Notices, Twenty-five Cents per line.

PREMIUMS.

We offer the following very desirable Premiums to those who will aid us in extending the circulation and consequent usefulness of THE STANDARD:

To old subscribers who renew their subscriptions and send one new subscriber for the year ($6); or to any who will send two new subscribers ($6) we will send either of the following very desirable books:

WENDELL PHILLIPS' "Speeches, Lectures and Letters." 562 pages, with steel portrait.

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Also a life-like, beautifully-finished, medium-sized photograph of WENDELL PHILLIPS made for us by Marshall of Boston; or a photograph of the same size and style, suitable for framing, by the same artist, of JOHN G. WHITTIER.

CLUB RATES.

We will hereafter send the *Radical* ($4.00 a year) and THE STANDARD, each one year to old, or new subscribers, the two for $5.50;—

The *Herald of Health* ($2.00 a year) and THE STANDARD, the two for $3.50;—

Merry's Museum ($1.50 a year) and THE STANDARD, the two for $3.50;—

The *Woman's Advocate* ($1.50 a year) and THE STANDARD, the two for $3.50.

CONGRESS.

SOME critics find fault with our call upon Congress to assume the functions which the Executive disuses. Such men fail to discern the signs of the times. The universal tendency of Constitutional Government is to exalt the Legislature and depress the Executive, and at last to incorporate the two. Witness the Crown and the House of Commons for the last two hundred years. The English Premier, whom in reality a vote of the House makes and unmakes, is King of England. Victoria only reigns, she does not rule. And thus the House names, from among its own members, the executive. This is the Government which has *grown out* of the need and wit of a great people. It remains to be seen whether it is not a better working model than our own.

There is a party among us, by no means inconsiderable, which openly proposes to abolish the Presidency. Just now they have the best of the argument. The Presidency of Lincoln added nothing, in the way of Executive ability, to the force of the Government. He always confessed that he "drifted" and waited to be driven. The people's trust in his good intent strenthened the Government, to which otherwise he contributed nothing. Mr. Johnson's four years cost us blood and treasure. Except that he stood a warning and that his treachery developed, before all men and to their amazement, the undying hate of the South toward the Nation, his Presidency was unmixed loss and disaster. It would be a low estimate to say that its pecuniary loss to us was more than a thousand million of dollars. Were one to say of the present Executive that he brought anything to the State except good intentions, he would be suspected of satire in disguise of praise. Taking our three last Presidents therefore, we see cropping out, even here, the tendency of our times; and the German argument for doing away with the Presidency, will have to wait awhile before *facts* give it an answer.

All good Governments *grow*, they are not *made*. Ours was started in the best form our fathers could devise. Since then it has *grown*. Many parts of the machinery, never imagined by the fathers, have been added on the pressure of necessity. In fact the only pressing need of our fathers' day was a Government that could raise taxes and pay debts. That part of the machine they finished perfectly. It is curious to notice that most of the political questions and most of the Supreme Court cases, during the first fifty years, turned on *finance*. The other sides of the Government our fathers left incomplete. Until 1867 the Nation never defined who were its citizens. The XIVth Amendment was the first attempt. Equally evident is it that hereafter some Department of the State must possess the power to *protect its citizens*. We must complete this side of the Constitution. The Government is *growing*. Necessity will lick it into shape, into good working order after a while.

One of the changes will probably be a verging toward the English model. We shall not submit many years to keep a traitor in the White House four years after we discover his treason. Having found that while narrow lawyers and venal adventurers wriggle their way into the Senate, impeachment is an impossibility, we shall set our wits to invent some other remedy. Very likely the one we shall select will be to keep our real Executive in the Capitol and leave only the National dinner-giver and levee-holder in the White House. This Civil Office Tenure Bill may be repealed; but its enactment reveals the tendency of the times. In due time it will be followed by another and another, until the principle is grafted into our Machine of State. When that change comes we shall have become more truly a democracy. The Executive, that part of the Government which the Federalist loved and which Jefferson distrusted, will have vanished. We do not propose this great alteration. We only note the gravitation toward it. If any man wishes to arrest this let him put the next time into the White House, a statesman not a party counter. Our fathers were obliged to pass by Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, men of brains, and submit to Harrison, Taylor, Polk and Pierce, figure heads of putty. Are we likely to do better in time to come? The editors who think we misrepresent the hour must gird up their loins and for *once* put a statesman into the White House before they will find a spot for their argument to rest on. That, for thirty years, the jealous Giants of the Capitol have blocked each other's way to the White House and only permitted one of their puppets to reach it, is too significant a fact to be lightly pushed aside. If men don't like this, let them rally and change it. Criticizing us will not rub out history.

Meanwhile we desire to acknowledge, with all heartiness and sincerity, President Grant's loyalty to the XVth Amendment. His late message runs in the same channel with his first one. He holds Congress and the States to this high duty. We believe he honestly and earnestly wishes to banish this disturbing element of *race* from our politics, and will do all that in him lies to hasten its dismissal.

There is little in his message we dislike. It is the omissions we complain of. The Chief of a nation, whose loyal citizens are hunted and shot down like dogs in one-third of its territory, we find no allusion to the fact, or so brief a one, that nobody, in reading the Message, would get any fit idea of its grave importance. The President merely catalogues this with the other topics. No remedy is proposed; no power is asked of Congress to enable the Executive better to cope with this disgraceful state of things. One would imagine from the Message that Texas was as peaceful as Vermont. We are tired of asking of this President, who fails to show civil ability, the "clear grit" of a soldier. If Mr. Grant has any friends who care for his final reputation, his place in history, let them warn him that the do-nothing timidity of the President is blighting the laurels of the Soldier.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12th, 1869.

THE NATIONAL LABOR CONVENTION.

THE National Labor Convention which assembled in this city on Monday last has been in progress during the week, holding two sessions daily. It adjourned *sine die* last evening. At the date of our previous letter little more had been done than to prepare for work. On Tuesday evening the Hon. HENRY WILSON delivered an address, in hearty sympathy with the objects of the Convention. He was warmly applauded. On Wednesday the Committee on Resolutions reported an extended series, several of which will appear in the next issue of THE STANDARD simultaneous with this letter. The number of resolutions offered from the opening to the close of the Convention was very large. No spectator, however much he might have been disposed to criticise the delegates in other respects, would have complained of any lack of mental activity. Those who were unable to write, were as anxious as those who could, to have their ideas, and their wants, stated in a preamble and resolutions. It is not difficult to foresee a time in the near future when the colored people of the South will outrank the majority of the Southern whites as much in mental attainments as they already do in the capacity for other kinds of work. It is plainly foretold in the dilligence and gratifying progress of the colored pupils in the schools, and in the mental unrest and quick perception of the colored delegates, especially those from the South, in this Convention.

Wednesday evening Judge KELLEY addressed the Convention, and in the course of his remarks gave some very timely and valuable suggestions concerning the importance of introducing in the South the variety of manufacturing interests which characterizes Northern industry, and for which the natural resources of the South are abundant. At present the labor of the South is too exclusively agricultural, and is therefore the more readily oppressed.

On Thursday was read and adopted, the Address, prepared by J. M. LANGSTON, Esq., as Chairman of the Committee. This paper, ably written, so well interprets the spirit and purpose of the movement which the Convention represents, that we shall present it in full to our readers. It alone would suffice to gain for the movement thoughtful consideration, and command for it public respect, if not general sympathy. A report on "Education," by Prof. Vashon; another by Mrs. Shadd, (colored) of Detroit, on "Female Labor;" one on "Liberia," by Rev. J. Sella Martin; another on "Homesteads," by Mr. Rapier, of North Carolina; and a "Memorial to Congress" on the subject of "Land," as a necessity of the freed people, are all papers of importance, creditable to the Convention, and which, at a later date, we shall hope, in part at least, to lay before our readers.

As was contemplated, one result of the Convention was the organization of a permanent Bureau of Industry, to have its headquarters in Washington, with officers and auxiliary associations in all the States and Territories. The President of the new Bureau is Mr. ISAAC MYERS, of Baltimore. Mr. Myers is at the head of the very successful coöperative Ship Builders Association of that city. This Association, as our readers will perhaps remember, was organized by colored mechanics who had been driven out of the Baltimore Ship Yards on account of their color. Determined not to starve or be outdone, they organized, and borrowed capital to the amount of $40,000, and to-day they are out of debt, and are doing fully as much business as any of their white competitors. Nor do they confine their workmen to colored mechanics. Some of the very white men who a few years ago combined to deprive Mr. Myers and his associates of employment have since sought and obtained work in their yards. The name of Mr. Myers at the head of the new Bureau is therefore a guaranty that it means work, and that good results may be expected from its organization. Until such time as colored apprentices and mechanics can have access to other workshops, it will be the aim of the Bureau to open the way for both by coöperation and organized effort, independent of those now in existence controlled, regulated and exclusively occupied by whites. It will also endeavor to promote the organization of coöperative Land and Building Associations. It will need, and we trust will obtain, an adequate supply of money to achieve a large measure of usefulness. But should its pecuniary coöperation prove to be limited, the discussion of these industrial problems, already awakened by the Convention and the organization of the Bureau, will do great good.

This Convention served more fully to confirm the statements we have so frequently presented in the columns of THE STANDARD, that LAND is an immediate and pressing need among the freed-people, to the end that their freedom shall become real instead of nominal, or as at present, at best, but partial. With great unanimity the Convention seconded the proposition we have urged, that Congress should provide for a Land Commission to facilitate the selection and purchase of suitable lands for small homesteads, through Agents qualified for the trust. Forlorn and helpless as many inevitably are, suddenly emancipated, with past years of unrequited toil, and left as victims of rebel monopolists, they need to be helped to the opportunity to help themselves. Magnanimity should not be esteemed as the chief of the virtues only when it is shown towards Negro-hating rebels. We urge that the loyal freed-people be not wholly abandoned to the Ku-Klux and to the grinding and cruel task-masters who, while they can no longer buy and sell the men and women at the same auction with their horses, mules and swine, have still the power to render their estate little better, in the rural districts, than slavery itself. We hope that early in the present session of Congress due provision will be made whereby individuals, local associations, and the new National Bureau, may have government coöperation in securing to the landless freed-people *homesteads*. The memorial to Congress, prepared by Col. Mackay of South Carolina, and an address before the Convention by Col. R. J. Hinton, replete with important statistical information concerning the Land question, and an eloquent plea for the suffering freed-people, we hope in a subsequent issue to present to our readers.

The freedom of the colored people of this country is still very unlike that which the whites enjoy. Senator Wright of South Carolina, in coming to Washington as a delegate to this Convention, though paying first-class fare, was compelled to come in the second-class car, or be put off the train. It is but a few weeks since George T. Downing, Esq., was rudely thrust from the reclining chair car, in which he was entitled to a seat, at Jersey City, by Camden and Amboy ruffians, solely on account of color. And this same prejudice dominates in the workshops and prohibits in a large measure the landless freed-people from obtaining suitable land for a livelihood, either by lease or purchase. Labor movements among the white workingmen, manipulated to their great disadvantage in many cases by political demagogues, will do little for the colored people. Witness the action of the Bricklayers and the Printers Union.

We are glad that so auspicious a beginning in the way of organization has been made by this Convention. The Bureau just organized is an important step in the right direction. Its advantages are freely offered to all who are inclined to friendly coöperation,—men and women, colored and whites. This is the true ideal. Political and industrial reconstruction must go hand in hand.

A. M. P.

LAND FOR THE FREED-PEOPLE.

LETTER TO HORACE GREELEY.

OFFICE OF THE NAT. ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD,
39 NASSAU STREET, New York,
December 14th, 1869.

HORACE GREELEY, Esq.—*Dear Sir:*—I note with regret, in *The Tribune* of this morning, editorial comments, which I presume to be from your pen, adverse to the proposition for a Land Commission, to be authorized by Congress, in behalf of the landless freed-people. You refer to the Public Lands as free to actual settlers, with a five years residence, and a small outlay of money; oppose any incidental help, as tending to idleness, and conclude by saying, "Better tell them at once, 'Take freely any quarter-section of Public Land you find unclaimed and make a home of it; but expect nothing more. Root, hog! or die!'"

Permit me to remind you that the disabilities of the rural freed-people of the South are peculiar and exceptional. Suddenly emancipated, they have been left, after years of unpaid toil, in a community hostile to them. In very many cases they are unable to obtain land on any terms, either by lease or purchase. Cheated out of their wages when they work for the planters, in numerous instances, and unable to obtain redress through the sham-courts in their midst, they often suffer greatly for the necessities of life.

Personal and political freedom is now to them but a cruel mockery of the blessing it should be. It is easy to say to them, "Take freely any quarter-section of the Public Land you find unclaimed and make a home of it." So is it to give the same advice to the thousands of the wretchedly poor people who crowd the tenement houses and cellars of this city. But how are they to take the initial steps? How are they to get to these lands? Who will pay the railroad fare and supply their food for the journey—not to mention tools and outfit? The obstacles are formidable in the way of our poor whites in this city, should they attempt to act upon your advice. The difficulties are much more formidable, however, in the way of the Southern freed-people. They have to contend with the bitter hatred of a proud people, who monopolize, through Johnson's treachery and the indifference of Congress, nearly all the land. Their opponents are smarting under defeat on the battle-field, and are restive under the Reconstruction laws; they not only terrify and murder the negroes by the Ku-Klux, but they make it well nigh impossible for them to gain any independent foothold upon the land, and reduce them to the alternative of starvation, or contract labor, at low rates, and then manage to cheat them out of everything save barely enough to maintain life. This is not overstating the forlorn situation in many of the Southern rural districts. If Congress had done its duty and confiscated, at the proper time, the landed estates of rebels, or revoked Johnson's wholesale, fraudulent pardons, such a Land Commission as is now proposed would have been less a necessity.

But it is announced that the Freedmen's Bureau, which of late has been confined to educational work, and the collection of the bounties due to colored soldiers or their families, is to be wholly discontinued. To abandon the freed-people at this juncture, with the Fifteenth Amendment still pending, and Reconstruction yet in progress, to the Ku-Klux, to the unrepentant rebels, and to your "conservative" friends, such as those of Virginia, Tennessee and Texas, who are inimical to the colored people, would be on the part of Congress and the Nation, simply infamous. Why should magnanimity be all on one side? Why should you, an old-time anti-slavery man, hasten from New York to Richmond to give pecuniary support to the prince of negro-hating rebels, Jefferson Davis, and then turn coldly to the brave, loyal, landless negroes of the South, who ask not charity, but the opportunity to help themselves, and rudely say to them, "Root, hog! or die?" Why did you not leave him to general laws? Why not bid him "root or die?" You should have at least as much compassion for the victims of rebel oppression, as for those who not only have been the champions of slavery in the past, but continue to be the bitter enemies of equal rights. Your "conservative" friends in Tennessee have not only lost that State to the Fifteenth Amendment, but, as you are doubtless aware, they are seeking in sundry ways to undo all that has been done to reconstruct the State in the likeness of freedom, and to reduce the colored people again to a condition little better than slavery itself. While you would throw your mantle of charity over such, I beg you not to oppose for the poor, scarred, negro soldier the pittance from Congress of an opportunity to get a small farm for himself and family—

especially as it is proposed that all money so employed shall ultimately be refunded to the national treasury. But you doubt that he will ever pay it back. You are willing and eager however to trust men who have taken oaths repeatedly, only to break them as often, with full political power and responsibility, involving the stability of the government and the future of our national credit. Will you not trust the negro, who not only never yet betrayed the nation but who valiantly served it in the hour of greatest need, to the relatively small extent proposed?

The proposition for a Land Commission, upon which you comment, I had the pleasure of presenting in the recent National Labor Convention at Washington. It was received warmly by that body, and adopted with great unanimity. I was over and over again assured by Southern delegates that it met their views most fully. It would adequately provide for the present most pressing need of the freed-people. If you, and other Republicans, do not too strenuously oppose it, it will unquestionably, in some form, be adopted by Congress. I am glad to call your attention to the fact that yesterday Mr. Arnell, of Tennessee, introduced a bill in the House of Representatives looking to the same end which the proposition has in view.

With the yet prevalent prejudice against the colored people who vote at the South at the risk of loss of employment, often at the risk of life itself, and who generally at the North, even in Connecticut, are denied still the right to vote at all, who are almost everywhere socially ostracised, there is little danger, even in the absence of your opposition, that the Nation would do so much for the negro as to weaken and demoralize him. It is not charity he asks, but help to help himself. This, a generous government, responsible for his past enslavement, may and should proffer. Very truly yours,

A. M. POWELL.

A VERY successful Woman Suffrage Convention was held at Newark, N. J., on Wednesday and Thursday of last week, under the auspices of the New Jersey Women's Suffrage Association. Among the speakers were Lucy Stone, Lucretia Mott, Rev. Oscar Clute, Mrs. Hanaford, Mrs. Severance, H. B. Blackwell, Mary F. Davis, Celia Burleigh, and others.

THE Wyoming Legislature has passed, and the Governor of that Territory has approved a bill extending to woman over twenty-one years of age the right to vote.

THE Texas election is still in some doubt, though the probabilities now are that Davis, Republican, is elected by a small majority.

WE have received several letters pertaining to the schools of the District of Columbia, a second letter from Mr. A. J. Grover on the Indian Question, with letters on affiairs at the South, and have on hand much other interesting matter which we are obliged to postpone till a later issue for want of space.

PERSONAL.

SOJOURNER TRUTH is spending a few weeks with friends in Philadelphia. She is in good health. For the present her address is No. 634 Race street, Philadelphia, Pa., care of Henry T. Child, M. D.

Père Hyacinthe has written a letter from New York to Emile de Girardin, in which he says: "I offer up prayers that the cause of liberty may triumph and bear fruit in Europe as it does in this noble country. That, with the triumph and fruitfulness of Christianity, is the sole safety of the present, the sole hope of the future. I congratulate you, Monsieur, on the talent you apply to the service of the first of these causes, and on the respect which, lacking faith, you accord the second."

Garibaldi has forwarded the following letter to the Central Committee of the International League of Peace and Liberty, whose headquarters are at Geneva:—

MY DEAR STEFANI:—The conception of your work is so great a step in the path of progress that it does honor to those minds which have imagined it and which carry it forward with so much spirit. The International League of Peace and Liberty and the United States of Europe combine the aspirations of the suffering peoples in pursuit of the realization of the beau ideal humanity. With regard to myself, convinced as I am of the grandeur of your idea, I declare myself once again a soldier in your ranks, and I solicit the coöperation of all those friends whom I have the happiness of possessing in the world.

GUISEPPE GARRIBALDI.

CAPRERA, November, 1869.

Anna E. Dickinson will deliver her new lecture "Whited Sepulchres," for the first time in this city on Tuesday evening next, the 21st instant, at Steinway Hall. *The Tribune*, in a notice of the lecture as recently delivered in Brooklyn, says:

"A picture of humanity, drawn with the analytic vigor of a man's brain, colored with the glow of a woman's heart, a tragedy of saddest significance, yet glorious with the promise of the future—this is Miss Dickinson's 'Whited Sepulchres,' by far the most thoughtful, clearly-phrased, and deeply-felt of all her lectures. The passionate eloquence of a sympathetic heart, it thrilled and trembled through the tones of her magnetic voice straight to the hearts of her hearers. It is the fruition of tears and prayers, of the restless struggle of a large nature against the wrong it cannot yet remedy. It is an arraignment at the bar of the future of the uncleanly follies of the past, the invective of a nineteenth century iconoclast. The story of the Mormon horror, graphic as it is, is not the sum of the lecture; it is but the text of a powerful sermon upon woman's position before the world and her relation to man. It is a blow struck at the superficial ideals of society—an argument for better conditions, and a purer foundation."

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

WE are indebted to the courtesy of R. S. CHEW, Esq., Chief Clerk of the State Department at Washington, for the following, from the official record concerning the Fifteenth Amendment:

List of States of which official notice has been received at the Department of State up to December 9th, 1869, that their legislatures have ratified the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, recently proposed by Congress as Article XV.; with the respective dates of ratification:

MISSOURI,	March 1st, 1869. Defective).*
KANSAS,	February 27th, (Defective).†
NORTH CAROLINA,	March 5th,
WEST VIRGINIA,	" 3d,
MASSACHUSETTS,	" 9—12,
WISCONSIN,	" 9,
MAINE,	" 12,
LOUISIANA,	" 5,
MICHIGAN,	" 8,
SOUTH CAROLINA,	" 16,
PENNSYLVANIA,	" 26,
ARKANSAS,	" 30,
CONNECTICUT,	May 19,
FLORIDA,	June 15,
ILLINOIS,	March 5,
INDIANA,	May 13—14,
NEW YORK,	March 17—April 14,
NEW HAMPSHIRE,	July 7,
NEVADA,	March 1,
VERMONT.	October 21,
VIRGINIA,	" 8,

List of States of which official notice has been received at the Department of State up to December 9th, 1869, that their Legislatures have rejected the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, recently proposed by Congress as Article XV.:

DELAWARE,	March 18, 1869.
KENTUCKY,	" 13,
OHIO,	May 4.

Alabama ratified the Amendment November 16.

The States which have not yet voted are

CALIFORNIA,	NEBRASKA,
IOWA,	NEW JERSEY,
MARYLAND,	OREGON,
MINNESOTA,	RHODE ISLAND,
MISSISSIPPI,	TEXAS,

Ratifications, 22; whole number of States, 37. Number of States required, 28. Number necessary at the present date to complete the ratification, 6.

BY request of a friend we print again the exact words of the XVth Amendment.

ARTICLE XV.

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

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WHITTIER AND HIS LAURELS.

IT is right pleasant to see how honors are showered upon Friend Whittier; for never did poet better deserve that the afternoon of his life should be warm and bright with the sunshine of popular favor. I remember well when his writings, beautiful and fervent as they were, found few admirers beyond the circle of the proscribed abolitionists. Now, of all our poets, he is the greatest favorite with the people; and there is no American author whom artists so delight to honor. Year by year, there has been increasing evidence of this; and now it culminates in the richly illustrated Merrimac edition of his poems, and the pictorial jewel of his New England Ballads, recently published by Fields and Osgood. His "Maud Müller" is one of the most graceful among the numerous specimens of photographed ideas; and his "Barefoot Boy" looks out alive from Johnson's picture, reproduced in the chromos of Prang with undiminished beauty. And now another well-known artist, Thomas Hill, has painted the old farm-house where Whittier was born. The road before it is lined with trees, the foliage of which is admirably delineated, and glowing with the various tints of early autumn. Vines trail in wild luxuriance over the old stone wall, and there is a small brook in the foreground, where geese are drinking, and a boy fishing. A bright sunshine glorifies the whole. Very excellent chromos of this pleasant landscape have been issued from Prang's celebrated establishment in Boston.

L. M. CHILD.

Our Boston Correspondence.

NO. CCLV.

BOSTON, December 12th, 1869.

YOUR editorial correspondence of last week gives us the very gratifying intelligence that in the national Convention of colored people lately assembled in Washington there were black women, white women and white men; and that the only delegate who objected to the companionship of women in the work proposed by that convention found himself in a minority of one. This shows what large advances education may make even without book-learning. These people, the majority of whom have grown up quite destitute of what we call instruction, have learned a great truth of which the high and mighty in this country and in Europe, the aristocracy both of the world and the church, yet remain ignorant. If the "Young Men's Christian Associations" (so-called) had had influence in that quarter, the step of beneficent and *truly* Christian progress above chronicled would have been prevented.

The Fraternity lecture of last week, by Frederick Douglass, on "Our Composite Nationality," took the broadest and most liberal ground in regard to government of the people by the people. He welcomed the incoming of the Chinese, maintaining the right of human beings, as such, to choose for themselves what part of this broad earth should be their habitation, and rejoicing that men and women from so many various climes were disposed to incorporate themselves with us, and try what the freedom of the New World might do for them. Why should they not come, as many as wished, and be citizens of the great (and at last *free*) American republic? Why should they not vote? Why should they not hold office, if elected? Why should not women also exercise these rights? Mr. Douglass would willingly, he said, see the realization, in all these details, of the principles declared by the fathers of our nation. He expected good, not evil, from the mingling of nationalities and of races; and as to the Chinese—keeping in mind the important fact that our ex-slaveholders were still disposed to tyrannize over the laboring class—he was very glad to have the Chinese try the experiment of taking service with them, feeling assured that *they* would not consent to take their pay in religion, as the freedmen were expected to do. By all means let them come here, and when arrived, let them be citizens, and have the rights of citizens.

The women's movement seems wonderfully prosperous. The Convention at Cleveland accomplished its purpose of forming an "*American* Woman's Suffrage Association" without either opposition from enemies, or division amongst friends. Eighteen States were formally (and twenty-one substantially) represented in the Convention, and the local interest was great. And since then a State Convention has been held in New Jersey, and County Conventions in various parts of Massachusetts, and the last news is that the Legislature of Wyoming, in both branches, has decreed the establishment of women's suffrage in that Territory.

Mrs. Livermore's editorial work has done such service to the cause, that her efforts are desired in Boston, while they cannot be spared from Chicago. The result is that her paper is to be published simultaneously in both places, with an increase of editorial force, only, instead of *The Agitator*, it will appear as *The Woman's Journal*, from the 1st of January thenceforward; and Mrs. Howe, Mrs. Severance, and Messrs. Higginson and Garrison will lend their aid to make the new paper the best representative of its cause in the country.

The closing lecture of Mr. Weiss's course, given last Sunday evening, was on "False and True Praying." He showed most forcibly, and with great beauty and aptness of illustration, the manifold absurdity of expecting, and the unspeakable folly of desiring, to modify the action of Infinite love, wisdom and power, through petitions uttered from the standpoint of imperfect love and merely fragmentary knowledge. That ignorance and prejudice should presume to make suggestions to perfect love and wisdom as to the best course to be pursued, and to follow up these suggestions with importunate insistance, and to set forth the periodical commission of this impertinence *as a duty*, is indeed one of the wonders of this age. Our pious people are seriously reducing to practice, and claiming as a duty and a virtue, that which King Alphonso of Castile only imagined, when he said—"If I had been present at the creation, I could have given some useful suggestions." At the prayer-meetings of the "Y. M. C. A.," the members are constantly attempting the same presumptuous interference with God's present processes, which King Alphonso thought of attempting with his original creation. In the very next breath after calling themselves ignorant, stupid, corrupt and blind, they importune the All-good and All-wise to do something different from what he *is* doing! And if *you* don't apply yourself to the same work twice every day, and four times every Sunday, that is one of their reasons for assuming you to be "a lost sinner."

Considering the abundance of the folly thus practised among us, and the fact that it is cherished and inculcated as a duty, I think that Mr. Weiss was right in esteeming the revolving prayer-mills of the Tartars of Central Asia the less absurdity and evil of the two. If the "vain repetitions" expressly forbidden by Jesus are yet to be pertinaciously adhered to by those who call themselves his followers, their presentation by wind, water or steam-power, however useless, would still spare the mouths and minds of men for some better occupation, and thus be the less of two evils.

After his faithful delineation of the current methods of false praying, Mr. Weiss spoke of the privilege and blessing of real prayer, an acceptance by the individual child, *just when he really desires it*, of the Father's permanent offer of friendly, loving communion between them. When you feel the longing to enter into communication with the ever-present God, you need not wait till the clock strikes, nor go then to the prayer-meeting. What *you* want of *your* Father you can say better than any one can say it for you.

There is promise of great interest in the instalment which you gave us last week of Mr. Smalley's correspondence respecting the Suez canal. By the way, it is one of the curiosities of literature that this great work, now an accomplished fact, was alluded to as a matter of utterly extravagant speculation as long ago as when "St. Ronan's well" was written; the then Great Unknown having put this speech into the mouth of the eccentric oddity, Peregrine Touchwood:—"Think what the Pacha might have made of it had he taken my advice, and cut through the Isthmus of Suez." The testimony of Spiritualism agrees with that of Scripture in assuring us that spirits in the next stage of existence sometimes say the thing that is not, just as they do here. Query: if Sir Walter Scott should hereafter meet M. de Lesseps on the other side, will he claim credit for having foreseen the Suez canal, or apologize for having doubted it?

It is pathetic to see in Mr. Smalley's letter, written Nov. 10th, the inquiry—"Why did you not send Mr. Richardson?" He will soon be shocked to hear of the longer journey on which Mr. Richardson has been sent, and of the condemnation that assails him from so many mouths, while an equal number are equally confident in ascribing the whole wrong, at first as at last, to his assassin. Nothing in the whole transaction is so astonishing to me as the confidence with which these two sets of people take their different sides, assuming that they know the whole truth in that most intricate of all cases, where a quarrel between a man and his wife is complicated by the interference of a third person between them. A writer in one of the books of Hebrew Scripture tells us of a thing that is "too wonderful for him," namely, "the way of a man with a maid;" but this is simplicity itself compared with the relation to each other of two persons who, beginning with love, or at least with mutual consent, have found their first feeling change to indifference, and that to aversion. No outsider in the world knows *the whole* truth, even respecting them; but when the intermixture of a third person complicates the affair with jealousy, we may as well confine our adjudication to the outward facts, and abstain from all confident averment as to the proportion of guilt lying between the parties.

NORTH.

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, December 12th, 1869.

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

THE solicitude and apprehension that existed a few weeks ago in the minds of many people concerning the Fifteenth Amendment, seem to have entirely passed away. We have reason to believe that its early ratification by the required number of States is assured beyond a doubt. It is safe to put aside our anxiety, and patiently await the consummation. We are to have our grand day of "jubilee," and we need not imagine that it is afar off. In many of the elections of the year 1870, black men and white men will stand side by side at the ballot-box, in States where the former have never yet voted, clothed alike with the essential qualifications of free republican citizens, and presenting to the world an important practical demonstration of the principle, that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." In the course of time this excellent principle will be wholly rescued from the realm of theory, where it has virtually slumbered so long, to be completely and impartially identified with the practical conditions of our government, so as to include the consent of all the governed.

The present state of the case in regard to the amendment may be thus summed up. Twenty-two States have ratified. Georgia, Mississippi and Texas will increase the number to twenty-five. The whole number required, as a constitutional majority, is twenty-eight. Iowa and Minnesota are secure for ratification. The legislature of the former will meet on the third of next month, and of the latter on the eleventh. Nebraska is likewise secure, whose legislature will probably ratify at a special session. These complete the twenty-eight. The amendment is safe. Should Rhode Island and Ohio ratify, which is far more probable than doubtful, the number will be thereby increased to thirty.

LECTURES.

A new series of lectures are announced, to be delivered at the Academy of Music under the direction of the Young Men's Christian Association. Gough, Beecher and Greeley are the men. (Do they ever engage women lecturers?) Mr. Greeley is to speak on "the Woman Question." No doubt his remarkable views on this subject will gain a fraternal response from the members of the Association, and perhaps win the applause of the audience. Philadelphia is no farther advanced in the path of enlightenment than the editor of the *Tribune* respecting this abused topic, and it is quite probable that the "Young Men" are elated with the reflection that he is to bring his startling theories upon the woman question to a patronizing market. Perhaps, however, they are more delighted to meditate that their action in introducing to our citizens this peculiar gospel, is in keeping with obedience to a high Christian duty! Let them all have their day.

THE STAR COURSE.

It is asserted that Mr. Pugh has decided to strike out the name of Henry Ward Beecher from his list of lecturers, on account of his filiation in the Richardson affair. This may be a prudent stroke of policy on his part, and I suppose that nobody has a right to demur. But is not the merit of the act questionable?

While Mr. Pugh is in the business of striking out, let him not stop here. There is a far better reason for blotting out another name that is in the list. I mean Bayards Taylor's. Let that name be expunged. I hope that neither Mr. Pugh nor any other person who cares for his own reputation, or for the morals of the community, will be responsible for that man's appearance as a lecturer in Philadelphia. It is gratifying to note that he is unequivocally denounced in the West. The latest stricture that I have seen is in a dispatch from Chicago, recently published in one of our morning papers. It declared that Bayard Taylor's lectures was "generally denounced for its heresy and immoral tendency;" that "he ridiculed the Maine law and Puritanism, and lauded war and wine-drinking." "His remarks," continued the dispatch, "are regarded as an insult to the religious sentiment of his audience." It seems to me that Mr. Pugh would be doing a very praiseworthy act by striking off this condemned name from his list. I commend this matter to the attention of the *Morning Post*.

SUMNER'S LECTURE.

Although the *Press* of this city published a large extra edition of the paper containing Senator Sumner's great lecture on "Caste," the demand for it was so urgent that the supply was found to be still insufficient. In order to meet the existing want it was printed in the weekly *Press* on Thursday. It has thus found a multitude of readers in this vicinity, and the eager and extended desire to obtain it is a gratifying circumstance to those who have condemned and assailed the popular prejudice. The new interest with which the ballot-box is soon to be invested, will make it a powerful instrumentality, of far-spreading influence, in dissipating this gigantic absurdity, and one by one let us hope to see removed the many disabilities that a colored skin everywhere encounters.

LUCY STONE AT BRISTOL.

Monday evening last was of a most forbidding character. The dismal night belonged to mid-winter, and was entirely out of place in its encroachment upon the dawn of the season. The great snow-storm that prevailed was especially severe a little north of this city, and it seemed as though no rational being would venture out save as impelled by absolute necessity. For all that Lucy Stone had an audience to speak to at Bristol, not large, it is true, but larger than the circumstances seemed to warrant. Her subject was "Woman Suffrage," and upon the minds of her hearers she made an excellent impression. She gave a careful exposition of the question, introducing many grave and monstrous facts pertaining to our statute books, to show the harshness and atrocity of certain laws affecting women, and presenting a fund of able argument to fortify her claim. It was a clear, calm and comprehensive statement of the subject, well adapted to the popular ear, and capable of inducing to serious reflection on the important theme. The scoffer will scoff less after hearing such a lecture.

PASSING AWAY.

Mrs. Harriet Miller, the mother of Robert Purvis, died at her residence in this city on the 10th instant. Her age was nearly eighty-six. She was a woman of remarkable determination. Only a few hours before her death she had returned from Charleston, South Carolina, where she had been a short time to visit the scenes of her early life. Not many years ago, when she was about eighty, she went to England, to gratify her desire to visit that country. Such movements for one at her time of life indicate wonderful energy, and more than ordinary courage.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

is claiming some attention here. It is quite time. An informal meeting was recently held by friends of the cause, when it was decided to call a meeting to organize a State society, to be auxiliary to the "American Woman Suffrage Association. The meeting will be held on Wednesday evening, the 22d inst., at the hall of the Mercantile Library, which is on Tenth street, above Chestnut. There is need here for organized effort on the part of the advocates of Woman Suffrage, who should take effectual measures to bring about a general and hearty coöperation, in order to promote the important work. It is hoped that the meeting will be very large, and that no friend of the movement here will omit the duty of attending.

W.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 14th, 1869.

"ET tu Brute"—might be quoted against Gen. Butler. Since when have Virginian traitors won the right to have their pledges recognized as those of gentlemen? Since when were "the pledges of gentlemen" held as of binding force in law? Since when did rebels, steeped to the lips in perjury, gain the right to be esteemed as gentlemen? It is a grand word, often greatly abused, but never more than when Gen. B. F. Butler, speaking as chairman of the Reconstruction Committee of the House of Representatives of the Forty-First Congress of the United States, volunteered the assurance to a delegation of traitors seeking to evade the imposition of legal obligations, so that they and theirs may once more obtain power,—that "he was always ready to take the word of a Virginia gentleman." He has shown his desire to do this by the introduction of a bill for the readmission of Virginia to representation, *without* requiring the administration of the test oath to the Legislature of the State. Consistency would be desirable, though I am not a very great stickler for it in politics; unless, as in this case, the want of it offers opportunity for treason, weakens or disturbs liberty and peace, and lights a baleful pathway by the hideous glamor of assassination. Will not Gen. Butler, to be logical, bring in a bill declaring that the third section of the fourteenth article of the Constitution is null and void, repealing the test oath, and affirming his belief that there never was any intention to apply it to any person or persons acting under the reconstruction acts. If Gen. Butler wearies of well doing, let us know it and act at once. Greeley has got him at last. When the hero of New Orleans bows before the mockery of a Virginian legislative pledge, we may as well buckle on our armor for a new fight. It is recorded of St. Beuve, the great French critic, that he occasionally appeared on the street with fresh crape on his hat. If asked who was dead? he would generally reply by giving the name of some one of his brilliant contemporaries,—as Victor Hugo, Favie, Arago, etc., meaning thereby that the ideal of them he had cherished was gone, shattered and dead. Are we to mourn over a shattered ideal?—wear crape for a lost leader? We wait in fear the near reply.

What is there in the case of Virginia which justifies her freedom from an obligation which the President feels impelled to call upon Congress to enforce in the case of Georgia? Is there any less antagonism to the loyal sentiment of the land? Are the colored people more secure there than in Georgia and Tennessee, given the same freedom to wreak malice that is accorded there. Is there any more security that the guarantees required by reconstruction will not at the earliest moment be set aside and nullified? Not a bit. Virginia is betrayed to the reaction as in Tennessee. Gen. Butler proposes to clench the nail it would seem. So be it. If he does it will be the nail in his political coffin. A little incident will illustrate the true state of Virginia feeling. I mean that represented by those whose pledges Gen. Butler is willing to accept. Senator Wright of South Carolina was a delegate to the Labor Convention just held in this city. He is a lawyer of marked ability, though in lineage and color a mulatto. He purchased a first-class ticket and rode from Columbia unmolested in a first-class car through South and most of North Carolina. When getting near Virginia he was rudely ordered into the smoking car by a person claiming to be the president of the road. Refusing to go, he was told that he would be put out *when the cars reached the State of Virginia*. He was compelled to leave the car he had been seated in almost immediately after the State line was crossed. The act was significant. Radicalism still ruled in the Carolinas, but in Virginia, as in Tennessee, and Georgia, rebelism was master.

One would suppose that Georgia was a sufficiently potent example of the folly of trying experiments. President Grant recommends the application of the test oath and the enforcement of the requirement of the fourteenth article, to Georgia. If, when he was General of the armies, he had held the same view of his obligation, we should not now have a thousand political assassinations to charge against some one. On whose skirts rests this blood? Is it Gen. Grant's? Does Butler want a second edition in Virginia?

There is a terrible apathy in Congress about the prorebel reaction which advances with such fearful strides. Unless a little more vigilant sagacity shall be apparent, the reaction will be ensconced in the White House in 1872.

As before, the hope of the Radical Republicans is in the colored voters of the South. If the bond-holder only understood his true interests he would at once insist upon aiding the loyal and landless poor of the South—putting them on the land, as the recent Colored Labor Convention plead for. This million of colored men, and the possible million more of women who may hereafter vote, are after all the only class in the Republic who have more interest than the bond-holders themselves in the security of the National indeptedness. To them the debt is a visible symbol of their freedom and they would pay it if necessary, by days work and out of their paltry earnings. Is it not the interest of loyal Capital then to aid them to maintain that national honor unstained

ASMODEUS.

LAND, SHELTER AND TOOLS.

HERNDON, VA., December 9th, 1869.

MR. AARON M. POWELL—*Dear Sir:*—I this morning notice in the *Washington Chronicle* of the 7th inst. your excellent resolution presented to the Colored Convention in Washington, D. C., on the Labor Question.

I cut and enclose from your paper of December 4th, the brief and comprehensive article by "Seth Hunt," entitled "Land, Shelter, and Tools." That ought to be published as a circular in large print. It ought to be put conspicuously in sight of all the people of all hues of skin.

Your idea that Congress should establish a Land Commission for the benefit of the colored people (in case the Freedmen's Bureau should be abolished), is the germ of a scheme now needed. *Stick to it*, and I will help you all I can.

On the Alexandria, Loudon and Hampshire Railroad, or near it, we have much land for sale, well adapted for the freedmen. We have easy access to the Potomac cities. Yours truly, J. R. JOHNSON.

BOSTON—A DELIGHTFUL MEETING.

[SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE STANDARD].

THE first severe snow-storm of the season came on the morning when Mr. and Mrs. Sargent had invited their friends, to come together to meet Rev. William H. Channing, and to hear one of the fine essays of Mr. Weiss. Against such attractions the storm had no chance. The spacious parlors were filled with a brilliant assembly, half of whom were ladies; and several of them had come from long distances to share the expected treat. If I can give only scattered crumbs from the feast, let it be remembered that I write in haste, hoping not to be too late for this week's STANDARD.

Mr. Weiss's subject was "Constancy to an Ideal." Alluding to the saying that "God is on the side of the strongest battalions," he said that undoubtedly God *is* on the side of valor, foresight, self-control and perseverance. He referred to the way the Dutch nation were prepared, in the providence of God, to struggle effectively in the maintenance of civil and religious liberty. Beginning in a marsh, where their utmost efforts were needed to preserve life and a standing place, for centuries they seemed to be only building and repairing dykes; but they were really gaining the qualities needful to fence out bigotry and tyranny, and their education in physical defence blossomed into noble traits of moral and spiritual life.

The will is the directing impulse of all the powers that the human being possesses. All the labor of human hands and brains is resolved into simplicity and elemental identity by the spiritual chemistry of the Creator. He is happy who can pass through Circe's den not only unsullied, but a liberator of his comrades.

One great danger which threatens us is that of being content with our arrival at any given point. He did well who burned his ships that his party might be compelled to move onward. The true way to deal with our attainments is to use them as stepping-stones to something higher still. The men in best condition to move on are the men likely to be most demoralized by waiting. When a man is disposed to view his course with complacency, and remark, even to himself, "How well I have done," he is in danger. His only safety is to burn his ships and pass on to further achievement. Men are not made for such conceited reveries. God has always more work laid out for us.

Nevertheless, there come inevitable periods of discouragement, and these form a trial intensely severe to those persons whose physical and moral constitutions seem to be the culmination of generations of one form or another of careless or vicious living. Here Mr. Weiss drew a most vivid picture of the condition of him who has inherited from several ancestors the results of reckless indulgence of appetite, or the habit of avaricious accumulation. Even these, however, are not forsaken of the Father. For them too there is a continuance of the divine opportunity upon the earth; they must burn their ships, reject the past, and press resolutely towards a better future.

We inherit a portion of the divine imagination, and no society is corrupt enough utterly to extinguish it. Mankind is expressly built to perpetuate God's pure intentions. Heaven is never in despair, and a new progeny is constantly coming forward to execute its purpose. It is a blessed thing that parents, however they may desire it, cannot decant the old wine into the new bottles.

The essay closed with a description of the fervency of Bernard Palissy in sacrificing all things else to the attainment of his ideal, and a representation that thus only could the greatest successes be accomplished.

The reading being finished, Mr. Sargent invited the friends present to speak as they might feel prompted, either of the essay, or of any matters suggested by it.

There seemed a general desire and expectation that Mr. Channing would open this conversation, and he spoke first of what all seemed to feel, the fertility of thought and tropical luxuriance of expression in the essay, which made it difficult to select a point for comment. It was also, he said, a solemn sermon, in which each hearer must find himself brought to judgment. Happy is he to whom the Spirit says distinctly—According to your measure of power you have been true to your ideal.

His ideal, Mr. Channing said, had always been a city of God on earth. Our business is not to be singly perfect, but to form, in intimate connection with our brethren, an image of God in humanity. He, however, had had no occasion to burn his ships; his idea had always been to pursue, to advance.

God is great, and very slow in his processes; and he asks of us steady persistency in the course that appears right. Sometimes we are accosted by veiled angels, sometimes by veiled tempters. We are sure to meet with difficulties, yet we should never yield to discouragement.

A city of God on earth! Has God indeed given to men free opportunity to build one? Some of us once tried the experiment at Brook Farm. Much merriment has been made over the result of that experiment, and it may seem a great practical joke of Providence that that establishment ultimately became a poor-house. Ludicrous as the seeming failure was, Mr. Channing thought that the attempt had had its uses.

The State of England was in many respects very unlike our own; yet when he went to England, Mr. Channing said, he found numbers of people there interested to try the intermediate steps between our present imperfect state and the complete establishment of the city of God on earth. All the evidence still goes on to show that this work must be effected through that sublime word of peace, coöperation. The facts coming to light ever since have proved the correctness of what we said at Brook Farm in 1846. We, stigmatized at that time as visionaries and Utopians, were right. Coöperation *was* the real tendency of that time. The real battle was between capital and industry. It was first fought out on the slavery question, and has since proved its reality in other forms.

Mr. Channing here referred to another admirable discourse which he had heard from Mr. Weiss, the evening before, in Fraternity Hall, and went on to speak of the thoughts excited by the busts which adorn that hall: of John Brown, the impersonation of good will in heroic deeds; of Charles Sumner, endowed by God with a moral genius; the apostle of peace, though charged with a policy tending to precipitate war; of Garrison, who by following his ideal became the nation's savior; of Phillips, the golden-tongued orator, the prophet of the present time; and of Theodore Parker, a man greatly missed in the national struggles lately passed, as well as in those now impending. The face of Mr. Parker, interpreted by our knowledge of his life, suggests a broad New England landscape; rugged mountains, waving cornfields, fertile orchards, fragrant wild flowers. How we miss him!

The labors of these great men have done much for us; but a war is still coming—must come—and there can be but one peaceful solution to it. There must be war between the labor that now produces, and the immense accumulation in few hands of past products of labor. Until we have truly a commonwealth, a feeling of community of interests between the great classes that constitute the nation, there must be hostility between these extremes. While such gold-gambling continues, our danger will not be past, nor our work accomplished.

Our work on this continent is to build God's city of peace. Those in Europe who study the course of events here think that *we* have an eminently favorable opportunity to become ideal men and women. We must be worthy of the better birthright that has come to us through the civil war. We must build the city of God in each township, in each home. But we cannot build this city with the hands of men alone; our sisters must do their part towards it, and they know as we do not what their proper work should be. Mr. Channing closed with a fervent eulogy upon Margaret Fuller, from whom an influence had come to him nobler than from any other human being.

Mr. Emerson, who was the next speaker, said he had highly enjoyed both the text and the comment.

Every temperament, said he, has had its sect in the church. Once Calvinism, the church of the bilious temperament, ruled in the world; since then, every variety of temperament has found its appropriate sect. As a result, there has come a vast difference in the character of the preaching. Formerly, human affection had no voice in the pulpit, or only in rarely exceptional cases; now, an improved method very generally prevails.

With regard to Brook Farm, as far as Mr. Emerson knew, none of the people engaged in that experiment considered it a failure. All have rejoiced that they were there, considering it a rich experience and a useful part of their education.

Mrs. Howe said she had been much gratified, both with the subject chosen for the essay and the profoundly sympathetic treatment of it. In its language, music had found a complete expression, and the comment upon it had given us history and prophecy. She agreed to the truth of what Mr. Channing had said of our special opportunities and duties in these days; and she was glad also to hear him say that the city of God was not to be built of separately perfect people. The Brook Farm experiment had not been useless, for even the scattered stones of that edifice were seen beautiful and useful in all the situations where they have since distributed themselves.

Rev. Samuel Longfellow said he was glad to be so eloquently reminded of the claims of the ideal, and rejoiced in the conviction that every attempt to follow ideal excellence would bring its own reward. He wished to ask, was there no way of preventing that war which, it had been said, impended over us? It seemed sad that peace could be expected only through war. He had hoped that we had reached the beginning of the foundation of the city of God in the mutual coöperation that was beginning to be practiced in various ways; but, whether the desired end were to come early or late, we must still work on in hope.

The last speaker was Mr. Wasson. He had not been quite satisfied with the statement that the impending war was to be between industry and capital. As far as his experience went, labor was quite as much demoralized as wealth. The working classes were no more moved than the rich by an appeal to disinterestedness. The new future will not open upon us until both classes, the indigent and the wealthy, remember the vocation of man to the highest. If, while we talk of human rights, we go on putting power into the hands of men who abuse it by taking every possible advantage, we shall continue to find new complications of disorder. The abolition of slavery was more God's work than ours. We may well ask ourselves whether some new understanding of the laws of social life be not necessary. A demoralization now going on and growing worse in our country is a fact; and our road to the realization of God's ideal is likely yet to witness some terrible contests.

The usual hour for adjournment had now come. But our hospitable hosts supplemented their feast of reason by a judicious provision of material refreshment. A pleasant hour of social converse followed; and your reporter never happened to see a party more happily constituted, or more perfectly successful.

Among those present, besides the speakers above mentioned, were Mr. and Mrs. W. I. Bowditch, Mr. and Mrs. John Forbes, Mrs. George Russell, Mrs. Putnam Mrs. Craft and Miss Forten, Mrs. Diaz and Lucy Larcom, Mrs Howard and Mrs. Field. The clergy also were largely represented, among whom were Dr. Bartol and Mr. Tiffany of the liberal side, and Rev. Jacob M. Manning of the orthodox.

C. K. W.

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOR.

NEW ROCHELLE, 12th mo., 7th, 1869.

AARON M. POWELL,—*My Dear Friend:*—I do most sincerely hope that the anticipations of the Philadelphia Correspondent, "W.," in relation to the probable treatment of colored students, if any of that class should apply at Swarthmore College for admission, will not be realized. But it should not surprise us, if the doors of that noble institution should be closed against them.

While I cheerfully and proudly admit that the Society of Friends very early saw the cruelty and injustice of slavery, and have long since washed their hands of that gigantic evil, yet so far as prejudice against color, or negro hate, as it is sometimes called, is concerned, they still retain their equal share, in common with the rest of the community, and are, as a class, firm believers in skin depravity. As a proof of the foregoing assertion we have only to take a survey of towns and neighborhoods where the number and influence of the Society has been such as to give a decided tone to the public sentiment in their favor.

Yet, strange and unaccountable as this fact may seem, these same communities are very seriously afflicted with colorphobia, and will probably be the last to yield to the colored man his social rights. If the foregoing assertions are true it opens a very large field for labor. I therefore hope that THE STANDARD, with its present competent, clear sighted, editorial staff, will be sustained, for there was never a time when agitation and education on the subject of Prejudice was more needed, if possible, to liberate the public mind, from the traditional bondage o negrophobia.

JOSEPH CARPENTER.

LITERARY.

Mrs. A. W. H. Howard contributes to the December number of *Lippincott's Magazine* a pleasantly told tale called "Incompatible," in which she points a moral toward the mutual concessions which might often make married life more enjoyable and harmonious. The two serials, "The Vicar of Bullhampton," by Anthony Trollope and "Beyond the Breakers," by Robert Dale Owen, are continued, with the usual variety in other contributions of prose and verse. The article on "Tobacco" advocates the mischievous theory that used moderately it is beneficial, though in excess, it is injurious. "Shall we be Educated?" by Wm. R. Hooper, is presented as a reply to an article which apeared in the October number of this magazine, entitled the "Freedman and his Future." It states what has already been accomplished in educating the colored people, rather than what ought to be done. We quote the closing paragraph: "We care not to ask Mr. Fitzhugh whether Frederick Douglass would best employ the talents God has given him as a laborer in the fields, or as a laborer on a newspaper in western New York, helping to mould public opinion? We simply point him to the educational facts of this article, and ask him whether it is in the power of any one to hinder a nation that has the franchise from acquiring an education?"

The Galaxy for December contains "Susan Fielding," by Mrs. Edwards; "On the Red Desert," by Albert S. Evans; "The Old Gate," by H. H.; "The Breath of Life," by John C. Draper, M. D.; "Put Yourself in his Place," by Charles Reade; "The Cardinal d'Andrea," by the Secretary of the late Cardinal d'Andrea; "Latter Spring," by Rose Terry; "A Marriage and a Theory," by Edgar Fawcett; "A November Afternoon," by Rebecca Harding Davis; "Mrs. Strongitharm's Report," by Jane Strongitharm; "An Editor's Tales,"—No. II., Josephine de Montmorenci, by Anthony Trollope; "The Morals and Manners of Journalism," by Richard Grant White; "The Galaxy Miscellany;" "Drift Wood;" "Literature and Art;" "Nebulæ," by the Editor.

The Boston *Christian Register* says: "Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, is now on a visit to this city. He preached last Sunday in Cambridge, and will supply the pulpit at Washington for a few Sundays. Mr. May

Miscellaneous Department.

MOTHER NATURE'S LOVE IS NEW TO EACH CHILD.

NATURE sees through thee, knows thee, through and through,
And seeing through thee, therefore loves she thee,
Loves her own love in thee; and loving thee,
Therefore respects thee, and in thee herself.
Behold now: never could a human mother,
In all her human poverty, respect
A child of hers so chastely, sacredly,
As Nature from the first doth. honor thee
The beam of light is new, and heavenly-pure
That greets thee as a child; the nectar draught
Given thee to breathe, each mouthful of pure air
Is fresh-prepared in that great laboratory
Of spirits for thyself, an effluence
From newest heavens; each beaker, nay, each drop
Of water is prepared and cooled for thee
In secret caverns,—and the strawberry
And the sweet cherry which thy childish fingers
Bore to thy little mouth, not one of these,
These treasures man e'er tasted before thee;
They have been made, compounded, wove for thee!
The little glossy goblets of thy grapes
Only for thee have they poured out the must
She brought to thee fresh from the Maker's hand,
From secret depths of ecstacy, for thee,
For thee alone prepared, the maid, to be
Thy consort;—and the children, only thine,
That none on earth had ever owned before,
That none on earth will ever own henceforth,
So long as Heaven endures!—the cloud itself
That sails so swiftly by, will never shade
Another,—for behold it falls in rain!
The breeze will never cool another brow,—
For lo! e'en now it dies in yonder brake!
That rainbow no man ever more will see,
For even now its hues fade on thy sight!
The lark will sing this song to none again,—
For from the clouds she drops and it is hushed!
An only song which thou alone hast heard,
Thus all is thine uniquely as thyself is.
Yea, know thou that the hand is always new
With which thou takest nature's every gift;
With ever new and ever changing hand
Thou givest his gift to the beggar; ah,
And his hand has e'en now grown older too!
Night after night Heaven sends fresh dreams to thee,
Day after day new senses and new will,
New and original force, thoughts, mind and life;
A life unique, peculiar, all thine own,
Thou livest forth from the eternal fount,
Entwined with Him more closely than the child
Is with its mother in the mother's lap!
Like a great thunder-cloud far-stretching, full
Of might and majesty and fruitfulness,
Broods over thee God's presence ever near,
And through the delicate network of thy frame
Passing the tissue of the finest flower,—
The heavenly influence flows down into thee,
With blissful, ever new-creating might,
Like streams of fragrance pouring into flowers,
That stand benumbed and breathe benumbing scents!
And thou—forget not thus to breathe around
Rich perfume of pure thought and of still love,
Still—as the thunder-cloud that charges thee!

Leopold Schefer—Layman's Breviary.

MINNESOTA AS A CLIMATE FOR CONSUMPTIVES.

WE copy from the Boston *Journal of Chemistry* the closing portion of a valuable communication from Dr. Mattocks, upon the climate of Minnesota. As Superintendent of Health at St. Paul, he has excellent opportunities of knowing what he writes, and his views and statements are worthy of confidence.

We are an inland State, away from large bodies of water; therefore we are not subject to marine or lake winds, with the exception of part of our northern border, where we claim no particular immunity from consumption.

Along the New England seaboard, including Vermont, which is on a lake, consumption prevails to an alarming degree. The deaths from this disease alone average one in four or five. The same holds true to a great extent along the chain of lakes in the West.

Then, too, we have no mountain ranges in our State to prevent evaporation, another fertile source of consumption.

We have a soil which easily absorbs moisture A great portion of the State is rolling prairie, which admits of perfect drainage. The soil is light, with very little clay. Neither have we a sandy soil, with fine particles of silex to be brought in contact with the lungs at every breath. We have little or no fever and ague. There were no deaths last year from that disease.

Our climate is favorable for health. Much has been said about the climate of Minnesota. No State in the Union has been more often misrepresented than our own. I find it generally believed that our winters are arctic. A Southern paper states that last winter there were thirty days when the mercury was 42 deg. below zero in Minnesota. While I deny all such extravagance of language, without regard to facts, I will admit that we have a peculiar climate; perhaps no State in the Union has a climate exactly like our own. Yet we think that it is simply because no other State is situated like ours.

In the first place, we have less moisture, a lighter rain-fall, than any other State in the Union. The average rain-fall here is about twenty-five inches; of the New England States and New York, from thirty- two to forty-five inches; and owing to the irregularities of our land, it is at once drained off. We are so far north that the moisture that falls from November to the middle of March or first of April is in the form of snow, with scarcely a day of thaw in the meantime.

The transition from winter to spring is rapid. Vegetation in May is nearly two weeks in advance of Michigan, several degrees south of us. An observer of thirty years in the northern part of New York and ten years in Minnesota tells me that we have green peas two weeks in advance of New York. The river at this point was open from two to three weeks in advance of Lake Champlain this spring.

Our summers are very warm; the average mean is 70 deg., equal to the mean of States four degrees south of us. Yet as a general thing we have a cool breeze most all the time.

We pride ourselves on our Indian summers. A correspondent has already portrayed our autumns in your columns in a way that would seem extravagant in me. Our winters are cold and crispy, but as a general thing dry. I think our winter mean is no lower than that of Boston. Yet we miss those sudden changes here which chill through and through. Last winter I was walking home from a lecture with the mercury 15 deg. below zero, and as I walked rapidly I was not particularly cold. While walking over some frozen, peaty soil, I recalled walking over the same road in September several years before, clad with the same wrappings precisely, yet I thought I never was so cold. Such is the difference between a winter in Minnesota and an eastern one. While one chills you through, the other stimulates to faster motion.

A lady told me some time since, who left Alabama in December and has since resided in St. Paul, that she suffers less with cold feet here than at home, and requires less bedding at night.

The question is often asked, Is not your Minnesota air too stimulating; will it not produce hemorrhage? We answer that we think not. Perhaps in some rare instances it might have that effect, but where one instance of that kind is on record, many instances are known where hemorrhages have ceased entirely upon visiting our State. My experience with consumptives is that air is what they want, and the more it stimulates the better. Very seldom do we hear that air is too pure, too exhilarating.

The season to visit Minnesota is in the summer or late spring months, *i. e.*, from the South; from the Eastern States it does not make so much difference, although it is never well for an invalid to leave home in the early spring. We should advise, if possible, to spend at least a year in Minnesota; and, much better, to change one's residence permanently. When a person is once attacked with tubercles, even though they be cured by a change of residence, yet a second attack is to be feared, should they be surrounded by like circumstances.

It would be easy at this point to give instances of cures performed by a residence in Minnesota, to quote from writers on the subject indorsing our climate; suffice it to say, that, as a general thing, physicians now, both North and South, are directing their patients to Minnesota, and seem to be satisfied with their improvement.

One fact never should be lost sight of by invalids visiting this country for their health. In the first place, remember what they came for; and remember, without care no climate, be it ever so healthful, will cure consumption. I have often noticed that a little improvement, "like a little knowledge, is a dangerous thing." Many lives that are lost here can be traced to some foolish little indiscretion.

Once here, the more time spent in the open air the better. This admonition has already been dwelt upon by previous correspondents, and it only remains for me to call attention to their good sound advice.

HOLMES, EMERSON AND LOWELL are thus referred to in a sermon on "New England Life," recently preached by Rev. Robert Collyer in Chicago.

And now I would like to tell you, if I had time, very much more of the good I always get by a visit to New England, of the men I love to see, that I count among the wisest and sweetest souls in the American republic, or in the world. Wendell Holmes—among his books, ponderous old folios, mainly about crabbed and cranky questions in medicine, but as bright and genial himself as a flood of summer sunshine—tremulous, keen, and high; just the man you would guess from his books, but with the blessed quality, above all besides, of being one of the best listeners I ever watched from a pulpit.

Emerson, simple as a child, in his quaint old Concord home, with the great pine trees in front, and the garden at the end he trims and cares for with his own hands; proud of his grapes and pears, and the green field that lies beyond the garden, living in his old house, out of the world as it were, but watching with his gray prophet's eyes everything significant from Chippewa to China. Lowell, mirroring all that is quaint and touched with any witchery, all that is shrewd and intensely Yankee, and all that is deep and wise in the light and shadow of the time; the man who has the mantle of Hawthorne, if he would only wear it, but who is probably better content to be himself, to be what he is, one of three or four great poets of this country, and one of the few great scholars. This is something about which one must be bound by delicacy and good manners.

GOOD FROM EVIL.

Joy ripens where the days make night
With bitterest draughts of sorrow;
Hope leaps to meet the dancing light
That ushers in the morrow.

Thro' clouds, and tears, and angry fears,
Dead hopes and fruit untasted,
The resurrected spring appears,
Unheralded, unhasted.

We gather flowers too soon to reap
The harvest's glad fruition;
We blight the fairest hope, then weep
To find it but a vision.

And yet the rainbow's silver sheen
Is born of many a sorrow,
And fields that glow in living green
And slumbering in the morrow.

Each star that's lost, and dream that cost
Such anguish in its going,
But build a bridge of gold across
The river's sullen flowing.

These dark, lone days are God's good ways
Revealing sunny places;
Life's dying years have many tears
Yet cloud they angel faces.

Come on, then, toil, and fear, and pain,
That bar the golden portal;
Through suffering, garner we the grain—
Through death become immortal.

DISCOVERY AT POMPEII.

THE *Academy* publishes the following interesting note from Mr. A. H. Layard, touching the recent discoveries at Pompeii:—

"NAPLES, October 14, 1869.—Amongst the most recent discoveries at Pompeii there is one of considerable interest and altogether of a novel character. On the walls of a house of no great size and evidently belonging to persons of the poorer class, was found a view of the Amphitheatre of Pompeii, of the city walls and towers adjoining it, and of a building of considerable size, apparently depending upon the amphitheatre, the remains of which must still be under ground, and for which Fiorelli is now going to search. Although this landscape is rudely executed, and is evidently the work of a mere dauber, it represents very accurately the general features of the remains of the amphitheatre now existing: the exterior staircases, built upon arches, leading to the upper vomitoria, the arena (the walls of which are represented as painted to imitate marole, and so they were found when first dug out), the city walls, and the towers, etc. The artist has recorded in his picture the fight between the people of Pompeii and Nocera, which commenced in the amphitheatre, and led to its being closed for ten years by Nero. Various groups of combatants are seen on the gradines of the amphitheatre, in the arena, on the walls of the city and in the open space surrounding the building. Men are falling, wounded, and others lie dead on the ground.

"In the space surrounding the amphitheatre are seen trees, and stalls protected from the sun by awnings, such as are now everywhere erected in the streets of Naples; fruit and lemonade were probably sold in them: in one is a bench exactly like those in common use with us. Men and women are seen flying from the fight which is raging, some apparently carrying away their goods.

"The velarium is represented as drawn over a part of the theatre to protect the spectators from the sun. This is, I believe, the first time that representation of this important addition to a Roman theatre has been found; but, unfortunately, owing to the ignorance of the artist of the rules of perspective, it is difficult to make out precisely how the velarium is extended. He has drawn it as attached to the city wall, which could scarcely have been the case; and it appears to have hung in large folds, horizontally over the part of the theatre which it was intended to protect.

"Unluckily the artist has taken his sketch from the side facing the entrance. Had he taken it from the opposite side, we might have had a view of Vesuvius, which would have been highly interesting as giving the form of the mountain previous to the first historical eruption.

"This very curious painting is especially interesting as being, I believe, the only existing ancient view of a building, the details of which can be identified. If similar views of Rome, Pompeii, and other cities, executed by competent artists, had been preserved, they would have been invaluable. Unfortunately, sketches of this kind were made by very inferior painters, who appear to have amused themselves by daubing on the walls, whilst artists of a superior class appear to have confined themselves either to the reproduction of well-known pictures, or to the representation of the usual myths, fables, and legends.

"I may mention that on the outer walls of the building adjoining the amphitheatre, and which Signr. Fiorelli believes to be a kind of dressing and bathing place for the gladiators, are represented inscriptions, such as are usually found on the houses of Pompeii, and relating to the election of municipal officers. Signr. Fiorelli expects to find the original inscriptions when he discovers the remains of the edifice."—*Every Saturday.*

RECOLLECTIONS OF BURNS.

IN a new edition of his poems is incorporated a good deal of miscellaneous information about Robert Burns, gained from the poet's widow. His domestic habits are thus sketched:

"The family breakfast at 9 o'clock. If he lay long in bed awake he was always reading. At all meals he had a book beside him on the table. He did his work in the forenoon, and was seldom engaged professionally in the evening. Dined at 2 o'clock when he dined at home. Was fond of plain things, and hated tarts, pies and puddings. When at home in the evening, he employed his time in writing and reading, with the children playing about him. Their prattle never disturbed him in the least. Had but rarely company in the evening. Was much occupied composing his songs, most of which he wrote several times over. 'Had plenty of excise paper, and scrawled away.' Mrs Burns thinks he chiefly composed while riding and walking, and wrote from memory after he came in. Was not a good singer, but had a very correct ear. Could 'step a tune' rudely on the fiddle, but was no player. Sometimes took this method of satisfying himself as to the modulations of a tune. Was very particular with his letters when of any consequence; and uniformly wrote a scroll before the principal. Went to bed generally at 11 o'clock, and sometimes a little sooner. Went to church frequently in the forenoon; went often to Mr. Inglis', the Dissenting clergyman. Never took supper, and never drank by himself at home. The drink then was chiefly rum and gin; very little whiskey was used. Burns never spoke English, but very correct Scotch." The following are memoranda on Burns' bearing to his children and on his last illness: "At the time of his death Robert was only ten, Francis seven, William five, and James two. When at home in the evening he heard them say their lessons, and took pleasure in explaining everything that they had difficulty in comprehending. Was most strict in impressing on their minds the value and beauty and necessity of truth. He would have forgiven them any slight fault, but to have told a lie was in his eyes almost an inexpiable offence. He used to read the Bible to William, Francis and Robert; and William was in the habit of remarking after his death, 'Mother, I cannot see those sublime things in the Bible that my father used to see.' Burns thought himself dying before he went to the Brow, (a sea-bathing place on the Solway). On one occasion he said distinctly, "Don't be afraid; I'll be more respected a hundred years after I'm dead than I am at present.' He was not above a week (a fortnight) at the Brow when he returned. Mrs. Burns was so struck with the change in his appearance that she became almost speechless. From this period he was closely confined to bed, and was scarcely 'himself' for half an hour together. By this it is meant that his mind wandered, and that his nervous system was completely unhinged."

A MAGIC concert has been recently given in Paris. The audience assembled in a drawing-room, and on a platform was placed a piano, violin, violoncello, and harp, but no performers. At a given signal the overture to "William Tell" was heard issuing from the orchestra. Unlike the so-called spiritual manifestations, the affair took place in broad daylight. The effect was produced by artists in another room playing on identical instruments connected by means of bars of wood with the instruments in the orchestra. The vibrations were carried through these rods (which were enclosed by non-conductors), sympathy causing the instruments to sound together. This curious effect was first shown at the Royal Institution of London, by Sir W. Wheatstone.—*Every Saturday.*

AFFECTION.

TALK not of wasted affection; affection never was wasted;
If it enrich not the heart of another, its waters, returning
Back to their spring, like the rain, shall fill them full of refreshment;
That which the fountain sends forth returns again to the fountain.
Patience, accomplish thy labor, accomplish thy work of affection!
Sorrow and silence are strong, and patient endurance is godlike.
Therefore accomplish thy labor of love, till the heart is made godlike;
Purified, strengthened, perfected, and made more worthy of heaven!

—*Longfellow.*

DISTINGUISHED WOMEN.—At a recent opening of the fifth annual session of the Medical College for women in London, Dr. George Ross delivered the inaugural lecture. The following is an extract:

"History abounds in narratives of women who have distinguished themselves in every vocation of life. They have attained the highest reach of knowledge, and have accomplished the most daring feats of valor. Is it a question of intellect? Let Hypatia, who was the most successful teacher in the school of Alexandria in its palmiest days, who was the greatest philosopher of her age, who was the most eloquent orator among many rivals, who was far more learned than the profoundest of her erudite contemporaries—let Hypatia give the answer. But not Hypatia only, for there have been many as able and learned as she. Was not Clotilda Tambroni, even in this century, professor of Greek at Bologna, and the ablest Hellenist in Italy? Dr. Johnson told them that Mrs. Elizabeth Carter was the best Greek scholar in England. Madame Dacier rivalled the most learned scholars of her time. Caroline Herschel assisted her brother William in his astronomical labors, made for him some of his most laborious calculations, and enriched science with many valuable contributions. Had not Mrs. Somerville also acquired eminent distinction in the same abstruse and difficult study? The unfortunate and erring Madame de Chatelet translated the "Principia" into French, and was not less learned than she was elegant. Anna Maria Schuman spoke Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and the chief modern languages, was well versed in the Syriac, Chaldaic, Arabic, and Ethiopic, and had mastered all the sciences taught in her age. The learned Spanheim, Vossius and Salmasius were her correspondents. There had been no grand epoch of human conflict that had not given birth to its extraordinary woman—to its Anne Askew, its Joan of Arc, its Agostinia, its Charlotte Corday, its Madame Roland, its Florence Nightingale. A Boadicea was the brightest name in our early history, an Elizabeth one of the most famous in our later annals. Semiramis was the mightiest sovereign of her line; and in the Hebrew records the greatest of all the judges, the one that was never censured by priest or prophet, was Deborah, the mother of Israel. These were the most brilliant stars; but there were a thousand more of scarcely inferior splendor. The names of Bewan and La Chapelle stood as high in professional estimation as those of any male professors of the obstetric art."

CURIOUS MALAY CEREMONIES.—In the lower part of New Orleans are a few Malay families who preserve the customs and retain the superstitions of their native land. They bury their dead at night, and, like the American Indian, slaughter upon the grave some animal the deceased loved in life. On Saturday, the 3d instant, a young girl died, and was buried on Sunday night, in the old cemetery on Gentilly-road. There being no priest of their religion there, the ceremony was performed by the oldest man of their country residing amongst them. He was clad in a long black robe, and preceded, on foot, the *cortege* which conveyed the remains to the grave. Arriving there the tomb was anointed and a fish and some cake placed in the vault. This was accompanied by a ceremony at once solemn and impressive. This over, a bird was killed and laid on the breast of the deceased, while all the friends and relatives passed by the coffin, each one laying their hands on the head and saying in their native tongue the simple word, "Farewell!" No tears were shed. They do not think the transition of the soul an occasion of grief. The ceremony over, the family returned home accompanied by their friends, and fruit, and wine, and bread, is given to each in the name of the dead. By it they promise to preserve their constancy to each other, and by their love for the dead perpetuate their friendship.

AN ENGLISHMAN ON EMERSON.—It was with a feeling of predetermined dislike that I had the curiosity to look at Emerson at Lord Northampton's, a fortnight ago; when, in an instant, all my dislike vanished. He has one of the most interesting countenances I ever beheld—a combination of intelligence and sweetness that quite disarmed me. —From "*Henry Crabb Robinson's Diary.*"

A THOUGHT OVER A CRADLE.

I SADDEN when thou smilest to my smile,
Child of my love! I tremble to believe
That o'er the mirror of that eye of blue
The shadow of my heart will always pass;—
A heart that, from its struggle with the world,
Comes nightly to thy guarded cradle home,
And, careless of the staining dust it brings,
Asks for its idol! Strange, that flowers of earth
Are visited by every air that stirs,
And drink in sweetness only, while the child
That shuts within its breast a bloom for heaven,
May take a blemish from the breath of love,
And bear the blight forever.

I have wept
With gladness at the gift of this fair child!
My life is bound up in her. But, oh God!
Thou know'st how heavily my heart at times
Bears its sweet burthen; and if thou hast given
To nurture such as mine this spotless flower,
To bring it unpolluted unto thee,
Take thou its Love, I pray thee! Give it light—
Though, following the sun, it turn from me!
But, by the chord thus wrung, and by the light
Shining about her, draw me to my child!
And link us close, oh God, when near to heaven!

N. P. WILLIS.

A WONDERFUL MACHINE.—The pin machine is one of the closest approaches that mechanics have made to the dexterity of the human hand. A small machine, about the height and size of a ladies' sewing-machine, only much stronger, stands before you. On the side at the back, a light belt descends from a long shaft at the ceiling that drives all the machines, ranged in rows on the floor. On the left side of our machine hangs, on a small peg, a small reel of wire, that has been straightened by running through a small compound system of small rollers. The wire descends and the end enters the machine. This is the food consumed by this snappish, voracious little dwarf. He pulls it in and bites it off by the inches incessantly—140 bites to the minute. Just as he seizes each bite, a saucy little hammer, with a concave face, hits the end of the wire three times, and "upsets" it to a head, while he grips it in a countersunk hole with his teeth. With an outward thrust of his tongue he then lays the pin sideways in a little groove across the rim of a small wheel that slowly revolves just under his nose. By the external pressure of a stationary hoop these pins roll in their places as they are carried under two series of small files, three in each. These files grow finer towards the end of the series. They lie at a slight inclination on the pins, and by a series of cams, levers and springs are made to play like lightning. Thus the pins are dropped in a little shower in a box. Twenty-eight pounds are a day's work for one of these jerking little automatons. Two very intelligent machines reject every croocked pin, even the slightest irregularity of form being detected. Another automaton assorts half a dozen lengths in as many boxes, all at once and unerringly, when a careless operator has mixed the contents of boxes from various machines. Lastly, a perfect genius of a machine hangs the pins by the head in an inclined platform through as many slots as there are pins in a row of paper. These slots converge into the exact space spanning the length of a row. Under them runs the strip of pin paper. A barb-like part of the machine catches one pin from each of the slots as it falls, and by one movement sticks them all through the corrugated ridges in the paper, from which they are to be picked by taper fingers in boudoirs, and all sorts of human circumstances.

"MUTE MOURNERS" are still engaged at funerals in England, and do a very lucrative business. American readers will be surprised to learn that they were hired to attend Mr. Peabody's funeral in Westminster Abbey. The correspondent of the New York *Tribune* thus describes their ludicrous appearance on that occasion:

Old things die hard in England, yet they die. The other day, when the Queen entered London to open the viaduct, the crowd so chaffed the liveried footmen that the latter presently gave signs that under their plush and powder they actually had some of the sensibilities of men. On Lord Mayor's day the most antique features of the show were all left out. But here at Mr. Peabody's funeral—though it was by far the simplest I ever saw in the Abbey—there was preserved the mutes, and the wretched individual who is employed by the undertaker to bear on his head the black board with huge black plumes, exactly as Italian sellers of plaster casts convey their goods. When this person came with his load of funeral feathers nearly everybody smiled; some of the young were even surprised into a laugh; and when the insignia of magnificent mourning excite the risibles, one would say it is about time for them to disappear.—*Boston Transcript.*

IT is asserted by the *Mechanic's Magazine* that one hour after the gas of London is lighted the air is deoxidized as much as if 500,000 people had been added to its population. During the combustion of oil, tallow, gas, etc., water is produced as well as carbonic acid; in cold weather we see it condensed on the windows. By the burning of gas twenty-four hours in London more water, it is estimated, is produced than would supply an emigrant ship on her voyage from England to Australia.—*Every Saturday.*

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Scrofulous poison is one of the most destructive enemies of our race. Often, this unseen and unfelt tenant of the organism undermines the constitution, and invites the attack of enfeebling or fatal diseases, without exciting a suspicion of its presence. Again, it seems to breed infection throughout the body, and then, on some favorable occasion, rapidly develop into one or other of its hideous forms, either on the surface or among the vitals. In the latter, tubercles may be suddenly deposited in the lungs or heart, or tumors formed in the liver, or it shows its presence by eruptions on the skin, or foul ulcerations on some part of the body. Hence the occasional use of a bottle of this *Sarsaparilla* is advisable, even when no active symptoms of disease appear. Persons afflicted with the following complaints generally find immediate relief, and, at length, cure, by the use of this *SARSAPARILLA: St. Anthony's Fire, Rose or Erysipelas, Tetter, Salt Rheum, Scald Head, Ringworm, Sore Eyes, Sore Ears*, and other eruptions or visible forms of *Scrofulous* disease. Also in the more concealed forms, as *Dyspepsia, Dropsy, Heart Disease, Fits, Epilepsy, Neuralgia*, and the various *Ulcerous* affections of the muscular and nervous systems.

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MRS. LYDIA MARIA CHILD, in a letter accompanying a remittance for THE STANDARD, writes as follows:

WAYLAND, MASS., Feb. 1, 1868.

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